

# **REPUBLICAN STATE CAMPAIGN TEXT-BOOK**

**1916**

**End Democratic Extravagance  
and Corruption in Missouri  
and Open the Books.**

**ISSUED BY THE  
MISSOURI REPUBLICAN STATE  
COMMITTEE**

**INTERNATIONAL LIFE BLDG.  
ST. LOUIS, MO.**

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL TICKET.

For President of the United States  
CHARLES E. HUGHES of New York  
For Vice-President of the United States  
CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS of Indiana

## REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS OF MISSOURI, 1916

### AT LARGE

W. H. HALLETT, Nevada, Vernon County  
LYMAN T. HAY, St. Louis, Jefferson Hotel

### FIRST DISTRICT

C. H. TUCKER, Newark, Knox County

### SECOND DISTRICT

F. M. FISHER, Dunlap, Grundy County

### THIRD DISTRICT

FRANK L. PARKER, Hamilton, Caldwell County

### FOURTH DISTRICT

CHAS. M. WARD, Dearborn, Platte County

### FIFTH DISTRICT

A. HAWKINSON, Kansas City, 303 Commerce Bldg.

### SIXTH DISTRICT

A. J. SMITH, Adrian, Bates County

### SEVENTH DISTRICT

LEONARD D. MURRELL, Marshall, Saline County

### EIGHTH DISTRICT

EDGAR A. REMLEY, Columbia, Boone County

### NINTH DISTRICT

WM. A. ULERY, Ellsberry, Lincoln County

### TENTH DISTRICT

FRANK B. RUHR, St. Louis, 1136 Chestnut St.

### ELEVENTH DISTRICT

S. L. WIMER, St. Louis, 5210 Garfield Ave.

### TWELFTH DISTRICT

THEODORE J. WOLFLEY, St. Louis, 511 Bank of Com. Bldg.

### THIRTEENTH DISTRICT

CHAS. E. KIEFNER, Perryville, Perry County

### FOURTEENTH DISTRICT

C. S. GOHN, Alton, Oregon County

### FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

DAVID D. HOAG, Carthage, Jasper County

### SIXTEENTH DISTRICT

CHAS. E. COVERT, Houston, Texas County

## REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET.

Senator in Congress for Missouri

WALTER S. DICKEY, Kansas City

Governor

HENRY LAMM, Sedalia

Lieutenant-Governor

ROY F. BRITTON, St. Louis

Secretary of State

WM. C. ASKIN, Salem

State Auditor

GEORGE E. HACKMANN, Warrenton

State Treasurer

L. D. THOMPSON, New Bloomfield

Attorney-General

JAMES H. MASON, Springfield

Judge of Supreme Court, Division No. One

JAMES M. JOHNSON, Kansas City

Judge of Supreme Court, Division No. Two

EDWARD HIGBEE, Kirksville

State Superintendent of Schools

I. N. EVRARD

## REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL TICKET.

First District—Ed S. Brown, Edina.

Second District—O. A. Pickett, Trenton.

Third District—Levi T. Moulton, King City.

Fourth District—Jacob Geiger, St. Joseph.

Fifth District—Isaac B. Kimbrell, Kansas City.

Sixth District—R. O. Crawford, Eldorado Springs.

Seventh District—Sherman P. Houston, Malta Bend.

Eighth District—North T. Gentry, Columbia.

Ninth District—W. L. Cole, Union.

Tenth District—Jacob E. Meeker, St. Louis.

Eleventh District—J. H. Barto, St. Louis.

Twelfth District—L. C. Dyer, St. Louis.

Thirteenth District—Marion E. Rhodes, Potosi.

Fourteenth District—David W. Hill, Poplar Bluff.

Fifteenth District—Joe J. Manlove, Peirce City.

Sixteenth District—Ashley H. Harrison, Steelville.

*Republican Party Missouri State Committee*

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STATE CAMPAIGN  
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# Henry Lamm



Biographical Sketch of the Republican Gubernatorial Candidate.

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## THE DATES.

Born—Near Burbank, Wayne County, Ohio, Dec. 3, 1846.

Graduation—From Michigan University, Academic Department, 1869.

Came to Missouri—1869.

Admitted to Bar—1871.

Elected Prosecuting Attorney of Pettis County—1884.

Elected to the Missouri Supreme Court—1904.

Married—To Grace Adela Rose, at East Saginaw, Michigan, June 18, 1874.

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Judge Henry Lamm, the Republican candidate for governor, was born near the little village of Burbank, Ohio, on December 3, 1846, of parents who came from Berks County, Pennsylvania, where their ancestors, originally from Germany, had settled before the Revolutionary War. His boyhood was spent on the farm and his early education was in the rural common schools. He took some studies in Canaan Academy, a home institution, and afterward attended Michigan University, from the academic department of which he graduated in 1869. That same year he moved to Missouri and took up his home at Sedalia, where he taught school and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1871 and practiced for thirty years as the junior partner of the firm of Sangree and Lamm. He was for

four years prosecuting attorney of Pettis County, taking the place because it was in line with his profession and offered an opportunity to do some things that he conceived ought to be done. Beyond this, he declined many opportunities to get public office and devoted himself earnestly to his professional work with the highest conception of its duties and responsibilities. In 1902, the Republican judicial convention at Joplin nominated him for Judge of the Supreme Court, but he went down that year with the rest of the state ticket. Two years later he was again nominated for the same office and was elected. He held this office until the expiration of his full term in 1915.

As a young man, Henry Lamm enlisted in the union army, but his father interfered against his acceptance by the recruiting officer and he was dropped from the roll, very much to his own disappointment. A little later he became a student at Ann Arbor, where he and a comrade kept house for themselves for three years in a two-room box-shanty which they had built for themselves on a small piece of rented ground.

His law studies were under much the same circumstances. He taught school and gave his extra hours to poring over the law books of a Sedalia legal firm, which privilege he obtained by sweeping out the office and building fires in the morning. His admission to the bar followed an examination that was most creditable when these circumstances were taken into account. A law partnership with Peter H. Sangree followed, and this was only terminated by Judge Lamm's elevation to the bench in 1905.

Ten years on the bench of the highest court of the state means prestige in the profession. There are inviting opportunities for retiring judges in so-called larger fields. But when Judge Lamm retired, he went back to his old home and and friends in Sedalia. He formed a partnership with John D. Bohling and his son, Sangree Lamm, and there he is today.

There was no variableness in the student, Henry Lamm. There has been no variableness in the man, Henry Lamm. When he became a Missourian by adoption, he settled his citizenship for life. As his five children grew he sent them to Missouri institutions.

Judge Lamm has been a worker. He acquired the habit in his boyhood. Back in the Western Reserve he farmed in summer and learned a trade in winter. It was the custom in that time to raise a patch of broom corn on the farm. During the winter months the children, in addition to attending school, learned to make brooms, and Henry Lamm served the fireside apprenticeship in broom-making. In his manhood he has kept close to nature. Tramping about Missouri has been his favorite recreation. No other man today knows the Ozarks better. Henry Lamm has camped by hundreds of Missouri springs and floated down dozens of Missouri rivers.

Judge Lamm's humor is a part of himself. Hard as he had to work at college, he was the joy of his class. His wit sparkles in his conversation. It could not be suppressed when elevation came to the Supreme Court.

After hearing decisions read from the bench, an old attorney followed Judge Lamm into chambers and said: "Judge, a hundred years from now your opinions will be read with delight by our posterity."

"My! my!" exclaimed the judge, "is it possible I'll have to wait that long to be appreciated?"



Into numberless opinions Judge Lamm has written his homely illustrations, his epigrams, his humorous observations, but to quote one of his associates on the bench, "He has written the law in an interesting way without once lowering its dignity, or the strength of his argument, or the usefulness of the court."

Perhaps no other action in his ten years on the Supreme bench gave Judge Lamm more satisfaction than his part in setting Missouri right on the vital question of purity of elections. It was not difficult for him to reverse previous decisions. In his opinions are found such views as these:

"One of the inherent rights of every court is the right to change its mind."

"This being a court of errors, we sit to correct our own as well as those of others."

Judge Lamm based his course in the ballot box upon this broad principle, which he applied in other decisions.

"In the affairs of men there is no place under the sun where fraud should be permitted to take sanctuary and claim indemnity from pursuit, discovery and punishment."

Speaker Champ Clark has paid this tribute to the Bible. "To say nothing of its religious value, it is the best book in the world to quote from." Scattered through Judge Lamm's opinions are many references drawn from that source. In case of negligence, Judge Lamm found the Mosaic law curiously applicable.

"That the absence of guard rails is reprehensible, in certain contingencies, was a fixed idea in very ancient times in the East, where people in the cool of the evening habitually slept on housetops. 'When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof that thou bring not blood upon thy house if any man fall from thence.' (Deut. 22:8.) The modern idea of the necessity of guard rails on sidewalks and along deep excavations may take root in that venerable law of Moses, for all I know."

How well Judge Lamm has read his Bible may be judged from these:

"Attend to the great Solomon, who says: 'Surely, the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood.' Seizing that Proverb as applicable to jurisprudence, Lord Bacon saith: 'And where the wine press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine which tastes of the grape stone.' Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences."

"Restitution is the beginning of reformation, even as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

In the case of the State against a railroad, referring to a statute which made it a crime for a certain class of men—railroad men—not to work on Sunday, the majority of the Court held the law constitutional, but Judge Lamm, with two of the other judges concurring, wrote a dissenting opinion attacking the constitutionality of the law as infringing on the constitutional right to liberty of conscience. He argued in favor of the proposition that freedom from labor on Sunday was a right of conscience, and that a law which made it a crime not to work on Sunday was unconstitutional. That was a great case and his dissenting opinion is great reading to those who believe in a day of rest; one day in seven protected by law.

Judge Lamm believes in "rooting citizens to the soil of their country." This is a Lamm inheritance. It comes down through those three generations of farmers who preceded him. Great Grandfather Peter Lamm came over in 1740, taking voyage by the brig Lydia Jane at Rotterdam, and landing at Philadelphia. He settled on a farm in Heidelberg township, of Berks county, Eastern Pennsylvania. Grandfather Philip Lamm, born during the American Revolution, crossed the Alleghenies in 1803 and found cheap land in the Mahoning Valley of Western Pennsylvania. Father William Lamm moved to Ohio with the pioneer tide in 1846, and became a Western Reserve farmer. What could be more in accordance with the Lamm traditions than to find Judge Lamm uttering from the bench:

"The correct judicial attitude toward homestead laws is one of as great liberality of construction as their words and spirit permit. That courts should be quick to see and astute to aid the beneficial purpose of homestead statutes; for as nature abhors a vacuum, so an enlightened public policy abhors pauperage, and vagrancy. The force of homestead laws is spent in preventing both and all their evil attendant train."

"They (the homestead laws) aim at breeding the virtues springing from rooting citizens in the soil of their country. Bold and self-reliant householders are a national pride and defense."

As to the relative rights of man and corporation, Judge Lamm has repeatedly let it be known where he stands. In one of his opinion he said:

"When in a court of justice the man is fairly in the balance with the dollar, then it is not sentiment only, but the cold, clear law to say that the man goes down in the scale, and the dollar kicks the beam. The man comes first in the law. It is one of the glories of the law that it is so written in the books."

"It is self-evident that, speaking broadly, whatever relief a creditor has against A and B, individuals, he has against X and Y, corporate entities, for it would be a shame to equity if the discriminating eye of a chancellor, having a passion for justice (as Lord Campbell says Lord Holt had), or a benevolent solicitude for the discovery of truths (as he says Lord Camden had), was to be baffled by such a mere veil or screen as the shell of a corporate entity, so that while it would see a wrong in individuals it would blink at the like in corporations. It can never be amiss to remind ourselves that in a court of conscience a corporation, like a natural person, is required to live up to the great commandment of the law, viz., "To live honestly, not to injure another, and to give to each one his due."

The law has not been sufficient to win Judge Lamm from the soil. A finely bred cow was one of his earliest investments. At that period he would suspend the preparation of a brief any time to discuss the merits of the different breeds of dairy cows with a farmer client. Naturally, one of the judge's sons adopted the vocation of dairyman. Another of the sons took the course of the College of Agriculture at Columbia.

Years ago the unpatriotic point was made that old soldiers in "homes" were paupers under the Constitution of this State, and therefore not entitled to vote. Missouri had two of these homes, one at Higginsville for Confederates, and the other at St. James for Union veterans. The case of Hale vs. Simpson



attracted a good deal of attention at the time. It found its way to the Supreme Court and Judge Lamm wrote the opinion, which held that old soldiers supported in soldiers' homes are not paupers in the eye of the law, although kept at public expense. The decision, concurred in by the whole Court, sustained the right of these veterans, whether Confederate or Union, to vote.

A rule of reason which Judge Lamm applied in his consideration of Supreme Court appeals was that "trial courts are not to be regarded as guns loaded with error." He had respect for the verdict which came from a Missouri jury as well as for the instructions given by a Missouri nisi prius judge. In his common sense, matter-of-fact logic he reasoned:

"Truth does not always stalk boldly forth naked, but modest withal, in a printed abstract in a court of last resort. She oftentimes tried to hide in nooks and crannies, visible only to the mind's eye of the judge who tries the case. To him appears the furtive glance, the blush of conscious shame, the hesitation, the sincere or the flippant or the sneering tone, the heat, the calmness, the yawn, the sigh, the candor, or lack of it, the scant or full realization of the solemnity of an oath, the carriage and mien. The brazen face of the liar, the glibness of the schooled witness reciting a lesson, or the itching over-eagerness of the swift witness, as well as the honest face of the truthful one, are alike seen by him. In short, one witness may give testimony that reads in print, here, as if falling from the lips of an angel of light, and yet not a soul who heard it, nisi, believed a word of it; and another witness may testify so that it reads brokenly and obscurely in print, and yet there was that about the witness that carried conviction of truth to every soul who heard him testify. Therefore, where an issue in equity rests alone in the credibility of witnesses, the upper court may, with entire propriety, rest somewhat on the superior advantage of the lower court in determining a fact."

The impression Judge Lamm has made outside of Missouri was summed up by a newspaper of high standing: "His deep learning in law and literature is manifest in his masterly opinions and he has accomplished the seemingly impossible, often so unsuccessfully attempted by lesser lights of the judiciary, in injecting the finest gems of humor in the most masterful analysis of the law without weakening the force of his logic or descending to clownishness."

Judge Lamm is a member of the Congregational Church. Among his own neighbors and those who otherwise know him best, he is recognized as a man of the highest character, clean, upright and just.

His personal life has been one of singular rectitude.

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"My distinguished opponent is circulating lithographs carrying his own picture with that of a cow, a horse and a factory, and the slogan in big type, 'Let's put Missouri on the Map,' said the judge. If Missouri is not already on the map, who in heaven's name has kept it off? My opponent also says if he is elected governor the police will be taken out of politics. If the police are now in politics, who put them in? He also says that if he is elected all leaks will be stopped. If there are leaks, who is responsible for them?"  
—Judge Henry Lamm.

## Walter S. Dickey



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for the United States Senate from Missouri.

Born—In Ontario, June 26, 1862.

Came to Missouri—1885.

Married—To Miss Katherine McMullen, Sept. 18, 1889.

Began career as manufacturer—1885.

Member Republican City Committee—1886.

Chairman Jackson County Republican Committee—1900.

Delegate to Republican National Convention—1900.

Chairman Kansas City Committee—1904.

Chairman Executive Committee of State Committee—1904.

Chairman of State Committee—1908.

Delegate at Large to Republican National Convention—1912.

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Walter S. Dickey, the Republican candidate for United States Senator, was born in Ontario, Canada, on June 26, 1862. His father, Nathaniel Dickey, was an Irishman who came to the United States in 1850 in search of personal, political and religious liberty. His first employment in this country was setting valves for the York and Erie railroad in Susquehanna. He later moved to Canada in pursuit of a business opportunity. The mother was of Revolutionary American stock, her ancestor having fought with General Washington, and her forebears having come over in the Mayflower.

Mr. Dickey obtained his education in the common schools and in the Provincial Model School for Ontario. He left school, however, at the age of 16 and went to work as an entry clerk for a dry goods house at the small salary of \$50 per year, but he always declared that the training he received was worth enough to make up a good salary.



He came to Missouri in 1885 and became interested in the manufacture of clay-pipe at Kansas City. He took steps at once to become naturalized and the first vote he ever cast was in 1886, when his new citizenship and active affiliation with the Republican party was recognized by his election as a member of the Republican City Committee. This was the beginning of thirty years of unselfish activity for the Republican cause.

In 1889 he was married to Katherine L. McMullen and the result of this union has been five children, three sons and two daughters. The family has lived at Kansas City since that time, except for a residence of several years at Independence, Missouri.

Mr. Dickey's father, Nathaniel Dickey, was active and prominent as an Irish patriot, and upon the second return of the great Irish leader, O'Donovan Rossa, to this country in 1884, he was given the honor at New York, in behalf of many Irishmen, assembled from all parts of the country, of making the address of welcome.

In the manufacture of vitrified salt-glazed sanitary sewer pipe and other clay products, in the Middle Southwestern states, Mr. Dickey was a pioneer. From the beginning, the enterprise has constantly grown. Improvement has been made in the method of manufacture and extensions in the diversification of products, but the honorable, straightforward policy instituted at the beginning has needed no change and has been one of the strongest factors in the developing success of the undertaking. The business has expanded to twenty-three manufacturing plants in eleven different states, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, Utah and California, with one in the city of Mexico. Five of the plants are in Missouri, in Jackson, Henry, Bates and Morgan counties. The products of the Dickey manufacturing plants are sold throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico and Central America. The annual wage payments in these plants amount to a million and a quarter dollars.

A most significant fact in connection with Mr. Dickey's record as a manufacturer is to be found in his dealings with his employes and their feelings toward him. He is a firm believer in the promotion of the faithful among his own workers and practically all the superintendents of his Missouri plants, as well as of his plants in other states, are men who have been advanced from humble factory relations, several of them from that of water-boy. In the recent primary every precinct in which one of his plants was located went all but unanimously for Mr. Dickey, the votes against him being few and scattering. Certainly he could have no higher or finer testimonial than this.

The same organizing ability which Mr. Dickey displayed in developing his manufacturing business to its present extensive proportions, has been shown also in the establishment of the Kansas City-Missouri River Navigation Company, a semi-public enterprise which has elicited the co-operation of forty-two hundred Kansas Cityans, to restore freight traffic on the river. It was in 1909 that Kansas City made its fourth effort to use the river for freighting by organizing the Kansas City-Missouri River Navigation Company. During the campaign of 1908, Mr. Dickey's talent for organization was manifest to such a degree that the business men of Kansas City called upon him to take the position of president of the Navigation Company and push the organization to completion, which he did, although his heavy shipments from his factory in Kansas City all go by rail to points not reached by the river boats. The interests of the city, however, he made his own,



and to him, probably more than to any other person, is due the success achieved in this matter. He showed his own personal confidence in the project by becoming a stockholder to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, and then organized the business interests of Kansas City into groups and classifications and worked out the details of raising the balance of the capital of one million two hundred thousand dollars. Of this company he is still the president and treasurer.

From the day of his citizenship, Mr. Dickey has been a Republican, because he saw in the principles of that party the highest good of his adopted country. He believed in protection, though he himself, in the industry in which he was largely interested, was not a direct beneficiary of protective laws. He believes in a liberal policy in promotion of commerce, in the establishment of an American merchant marine, in a stable and honest currency, in the full protection of American citizenship and in all the progressive principles for which the party has ever stood. Believing thus with all the intensity of his sincerely devoted nature, he was ready to fight and sacrifice for the success of the cause. In 1900 he was chairman of the Jackson County Republican Committee, and so efficient and untiring was his service and so competent and complete was his organization, that the party won, that year, its first victory in twenty-seven years. Four years later, in 1904, as chairman of the Republican City Committee of Kansas City, he conducted, with his wonted energy, a campaign which resulted in the election of a Republican mayor and council. Later in the same year he was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee for Missouri, and in that connection helped to give Theodore Roosevelt the electoral vote of the state, which was a most unexpected result. In 1908, he was honored with the Republican State chairmanship and, after the most remarkable campaign the state has ever known, another notable Republican victory was registered. William H. Taft was given the state's electoral vote and Herbert S. Hadley was elected the first Republican governor in forty years. During this campaign Mr. Dickey moved to St. Louis to establish more effective headquarters and the measure of his devotion to the cause was indicated by his willingness to separate himself for five months from his family and from the large responsibilities of his business to devote his energies, in the upper story of a hotel, for many hours each day and night, to the organization of a victory out of conditions of apparent despair. And the fine result of that campaign in Missouri was due, as all must say, in large part, to his masterly consummation of the necessary details of a superb organization, which brought to the polls the full strength of a great cause. It is worth while to say that in connection with no campaign of which he had charge was there ever any accusation of a resort to unfair or illegitimate methods. His processes were clean.

Through the years of his aggressive activity for the party it is noteworthy that he never asked or sought for himself political preferment. He never offensively dictated to those who were placed in power through his efforts. In 1900, he went as one of the delegates of Missouri to the Republican National convention at Philadelphia and he delighted in that distinction because it gave him an opportunity to vote for the re-nomination of President William McKinley, whom he loved and honored.

Those who knew Senator Mark Hanna in the days of his dominance believe that Mr. Dickey has many of that great political chieftain's masterful characteristics as a political or-

ganizer, and will likewise demonstrate, in the Senate, his splendid capacity for legislative leadership.

Personally, Mr. Dickey is genial, approachable, thoroughly democratic and altogether lovable. He gives the impression of a native frankness and sincerity and he deals directly and without circumlocution, which his nature resents. He has had five children and his family life is ideal. His love for the home circle is one of his great passions.

His natural religious affiliation is with Methodism, in the early ranks of which his paternal ancestors were prominent, but Mrs. Dickey is a Presbyterian and he goes to church with her. His sympathy, his contributions and his influence otherwise have always been given broadly to the furtherance of the work of the church. His moral support, moreover, has ever been on the side of every good cause, promising the betterment of the community. Mr. Dickey is a member of many civic organizations and is vice-president for Missouri of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Mr. Dickey has always been clean-handed. He has stood for the best things in business methods. His processes have endured all the tests of public scrutiny. His personality is upright. He is sympathetic and generous. The needs and interests of his fellow-men have a large place in his mind and heart.

He is a man of wonderful capacity, alert in judgment, quick and accurate in responsible decision, skilled in the selection of men, equally keen in the perception of opportunity and in the apprehension of danger, decisive and vigorous in action. What these qualities would mean in the service of his country, at a time of its possibly critical need, every good citizen will be able to judge for himself.

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"But this measure has more serious defects. It creates a flock of political jobs, has no provision for the payment of losses, gives to the political party in power a club over the borrowers, and is a direct step toward single tax, which you farmers of Cass County helped to defeat when it was submitted. It proposes to take the taxes off mortgages and debenture bonds for farmers. When this is done the people of the cities and the tenant farmers will demand cheaper interest and the taxes must be stricken from their towns, and then what will you face? Single tax, and nothing less. The taxes taken off personal property must be replaced by increasing taxes on land."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"My distinguished opponent is on the staff of Governor Major. The definition of a staff is something to lean on, some one to advise with. While the governor was using the several state institutions and boards for political purposes why didn't Colonel Gardner practice what he is now preaching and promising. He says if he is elected these things won't happen any more. Col. Gardner says if he is elected Governor he will never run for another office. That reminds me of the little verse, "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be; but when he was well and rid of his spell, the devil a monk was he."—Judge Henry Lamm.



## Roy F. Britton



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

Roy F. Britton, the Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, is a native of Ohio. He obtained his education in Michigan University, from the law department of which he graduated in 1902. In 1903 he was admitted to the bar in Missouri and began the practice of his profession, after having devoted some time to the automobile business, in St. Louis. He was nominated by the Republicans of St. Louis County for Representative in the legislature in 1910 and was elected. He made an excellent legislative record, particularly in furtherance of the good road movement and in connection with the workmen's compensation law, in both of which he was greatly interested. He had a great deal to do, as a worker in the movement, with the passage of a law in 1907 providing for the regulation of automobiles and the payment of a state license fee. This latter law, amended by Mr. Britton when he became a member of the legislature in 1911, now yields to the state a revenue of \$300,000, which is distributed to the various counties for road improvement. Mr. Britton is now a resident of St. Louis, being a member of the law firm of Collins, Barker & Britton. He is an able lawyer, a most earnest advocate of the principles in which he believes, and an active and zealous Republican. His personality is clean and attractive and the Republicans present a candidate who, if called to the governorship, would meet the demands of the situation.

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"Col. Gardner is the first candidate I ever saw running for office who required an amendment to the State Constitution to be elected."—Judge Henry Lamm.



## William C. Askin



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for Secretary of State.

William C. Askin, the Republican candidate for Secretary of State, was born in Steelville, Crawford County, Missouri, December 14, 1866. He is the son of Capt. Robert M. Askin and Clara Jamison Askin. When he was thirteen years of age he moved with his parents to Salem, Dent County, Missouri, where he received his education in the public schools under Prof. W. H. Lynch. After completing his school work, he engaged in the furniture and hardware business with his father and learned the tinner's trade. Later he became a partner in the firm, which came to be known as Askin & Dent. He won the confidence of the community by the careful and reliable business methods which were the basis of his business success. In 1902 he was appointed postmaster of Salem and held that office for twelve years. In 1905, when the First National Bank of Salem was organized, he was elected vice-president and three years ago was made president and became active in its management until his candidacy before the Republican primary this year. Mr. Askin had never been an aspirant for an elective office, though all his mature life he has been active as a Republican worker. For sixteen years continuously he was a member of the Dent County Republican Committee, of which he is now chairman, and for eight years continuously he served on the congressional committee. Mr. Askin has an enviable reputation among his neighbors for integrity, personal uprightness and business efficiency. His successful business experience marks him as a high-class man for a business job.

## James H. Mason



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for Attorney-General.

James H. Mason is a native Missourian, having been born in Greene County, February 19, 1874. He was reared on a farm and spent his boyhood days on farms in Greene and Dallas counties. At the age of 18 years he became a teacher. By means of teaching and work at the general merchandise business, he obtained the money to attend the State University at Columbia, in the law department of that institution. He was elected City Attorney of Springfield, Mo., and afterwards prosecuting attorney of Greene County, succeeding a Democrat each time, and his official services have met the approval of his constituents. He is an untiring worker and a close student of the law. He is the senior member of the law firm of Mason & Page at Springfield, Mo., and has an extensive practice.

Mr. Mason began his struggle for success on the farm and, by close application to his books and his work, he has attained distinction and recognition in his profession.

He was the Republican candidate for Attorney General in 1912, when the party was hopelessly divided and went to defeat with the rest of the ticket, though he made a very creditable race.

Mr. Mason has thousands of devoted friends throughout the state and in the campaign of 1912 he won many added friends by his broad-minded views and the considerate manner in which he treated the judgment of those who might differ with him.

His candidacy is endorsed by the Bar Association of Greene County and other counties, and the Republican County Central Committee of Greene County, as well as by many counties of the state where he is well known. He is a man of unquestioned personal standing among those who know him best, as is shown by the large support which his neighbors always give him when he is a candidate.



## George E. Hackmann



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for State Auditor.

George E. Hackmann, the Republican candidate for State Auditor, was born in Warren County, which is still his home, August 10, 1877. He grew up on the farm. His father was a prominent citizen and at one time represented his county in the legislature where he was an active force. George got his literary education in the common schools, and in Central Wesleyan College, to which was added later a business course in the Bryant-Stratton Commercial College in St. Louis. He took up mercantile pursuits as a clerk in a retail store in New Haven, Mo., and later had a similar position in Warrenton. This he resigned to become a traveling salesman for the J. W. Scudder Grocery Co. In January, 1902, he was appointed Deputy County Clerk of Warren County, in which position he continued until elected County Clerk eight years later. After a four-year term he was re-elected without opposition either at the primaries or at the general election—a remarkable tribute. Mr. Hackmann also served as City Clerk of Warrenton from August, 1903, until May, 1916, when he resigned to make the race for State Auditor.

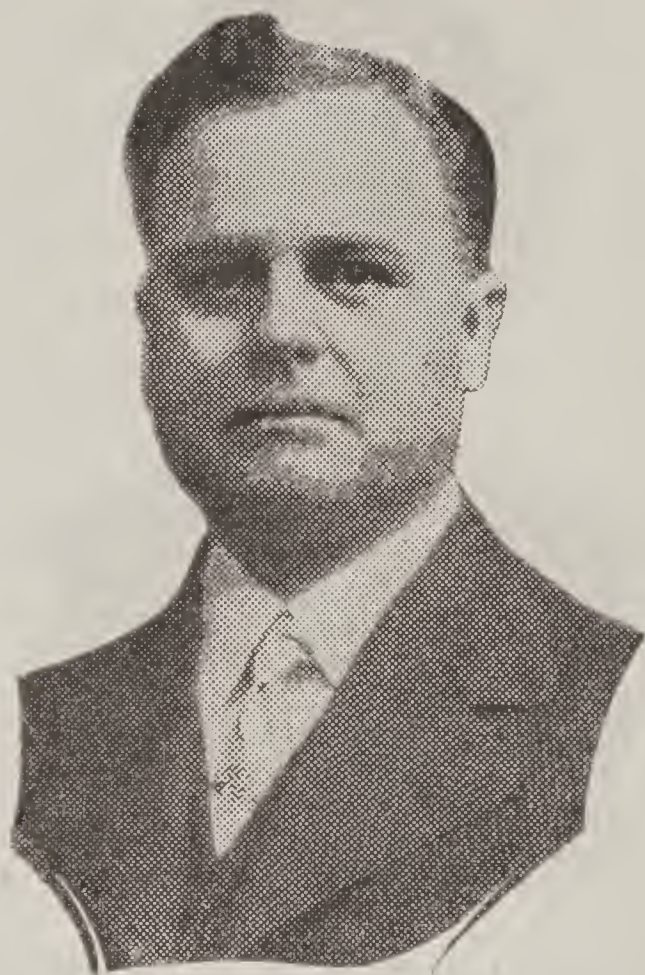
Aside from his official and secretarial duties Mr. Hackmann has found time to build up a lucrative insurance business, and takes an active and constructive interest in public affairs in his home town and county. He is married and has one son eight years of age.

The suggestion that Mr. Hackmann should become a candidate for State Auditor originated with his friends at the County Clerk's Convention in St. Joseph in 1914.

Mr. Hackmann has a gracious and popular personality and few men in the state have a greater number of friends.



## L. D. Thompson



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for State Treasurer.

L. D. Thompson, Republican candidate for State Treasurer, was born near Vandalia, in Ralls County, in 1873. He moved to Callaway County when he was twelve years of age and has since resided there. He received his education in the public schools of Calloway County. He was engaged in farming until 1897, when he was appointed postmaster of New Bloomfield by President McKinley and served in that office for seventeen years. For eighteen years he has been engaged in the general merchandise business in New Bloomfield. For sixteen years he was a member of the Calloway County Republican Committee and for four years has been its chairman. In 1908 he was nominated by the Republicans for representative of Callaway County and, while he was defeated at the election because of the very large adverse majority, he ran considerable ahead of his ticket.

Mr. Thompson is a member of the Christian Church and has been a member of the county church board for a number of years. He has also been honored with election to the School Board of his home town, was a member of the Road Commission, was secretary and treasurer of the Postmaster's State League in 1913 and was a delegate to the National Postmaster's Convention in 1914 to represent the Missouri postmasters.

Mr. Thompson is a business man of splendid record for probity and conservative sense and his standing among men of all parties in the section of the state where he is best known is unquestioned.

## James M. Johnson



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for Supreme Judge, Long Term.

James M. Johnson, the Republican candidate for Supreme Judge, long term, was born in St. Joseph, Mo., in 1862, and lived in that city until his election as Judge of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. He graduated from the high school in St. Joseph. He studied law in the office of Crosby & Rusk in that city and was admitted to the bar in January, 1884. He became a member of the law firm of Johnson, Rusk & Stringfellow, and continued that connection until his elevation to the bench. His election to the Kansas City Court of Appeals was in 1904. This district was normally Democratic by 17,000 majority, but such was the standing and personal popularity with the people of the district that he overcame this large adverse condition and was elected as the first Republican ever chosen to that bench in its history. His record has vindicated his election.

His opinions, filed during the twelve years of his service, are more frequently quoted outside of this state than those of any other judge of the Appellate Court of Missouri. His intellectual activities have not been confined to his judicial work, nor to strictly professional lines. He is a member of the faculty of the Kansas City School of Law, and is in demand as a lecturer and instructor upon subjects of general, classical and literary interest. He has conducted in Kansas City a series of lectures on Shakesperean plays, which have won high commendation. He has given frequent lectures on Biblical subjects and has treated them with such originality and analysis, as to attract wide attention. Since his election to the bench, he has made his home in Kansas City.

He is everywhere recognized as a man of the highest personal worth.



## Edward Higbee



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for Supreme Judge, Short Term.

Edward Higbee, the Republican candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court for the short term, was born in Ashland County, Ohio, on January 1, 1847. When he was but two years old, his father moved to Johnson County, Ohio, where the boy was brought up on the farm. He attended the common schools and later took a course at the State University at Iowa City, the county seat of his own county. Following his graduation, he taught school for some time, until he had completed his law studies. He was admitted to the bar at Bloomfield, Ia., in 1867. During that same year, he located at Lancaster to begin the practice of his profession. In 1906 he moved to his present home at Kirksville, though he is still represented at Lancaster by a law firm in which his younger son is a partner. His law firm at Kirksville is known as Higbee & Mills. In 1894 Mr. Higbee represented Schuyler County in the legislature. He has also held the office of Mayor of Lancaster.

On September 20th, he was chosen Grand Master of the Masonic Order in Missouri, and was installed the following day.

Mr. Higbee is recognized as a very able lawyer and has the confidence and respect of the profession throughout the State. He is personally a man of clean life and upright record, a man to whom men of all parties accord the highest measure of personal respect.

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"Mr. Gardner and his running mates promise to give you the same sort of a dose you took during the last four years. I should think the people would get tired of taking castor oil all of the time."—Judge Henry Lamm.



## I. N. Evrard



### Biographical Sketch of the Republican Candidate for State Superintendent of Schools.

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I. N. Evrard, who has been nominated by the Republican State Central Committee for the office of State Superintendent of Schools to fill the vacancy caused by the death of State Superintendent Gass, was born in Franklin County, Missouri, in 1870. At the age of thirteen he was left an orphan and largely placed upon his own resources. He attended high school at Salem and later graduated from Ozark College at Greenfield, Missouri, in 1892.

He took his Master's Degree at Missouri Valley College, of which he is now Dean, a few years later. He taught for three years in the country schools of Crawford and Dade County. For four years he was principal of the high school at Greenfield, which position he resigned to become principal of the public schools at Richland. After one year in this position he returned to Greenfield as Superintendent of the Schools and held that place for three years. He was then made Professor of English in Missouri Valley College and, after eight years in that place, become a teacher in the Springfield Normal School until his appointment in 1911 as State Inspector of Rural Schools under State Superintendent Evans. He was made Dean of the Missouri Valley College later in the same year and has continued in that position until the present time. He spent the summer of 1916 teaching in the State Normal school at Maryville.

For ten years he has been in urgent demand for addresses at educational conventions and school commencements. He is not only a finished scholar, but he is recognized throughout Missouri as a highly competent educator, acquainted through experience with every branch and department of the service. He is a man of forceful personality, of high personal character and is honored by every man who knows him.

# National Platform of the Republican Party

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In 1861 the Republican party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States.

We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

## **Protection of American Rights.**

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

## **Foreign Relations.**

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals, without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations.

We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

## **Mexico.**

We deeply sympathize with the fifteen million people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged, by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who when temporarily successful in any locality have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this Administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

## **Monroe Doctrine.**

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

## **Latin America.**

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.



### **Philippines.**

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the Islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their Government and if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the Islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done, would break our pledges, injure our prestige among Nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

### **Rights of Expatriation.**

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

### **Protection of the Country.**

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our Western or our Eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

### **Tariff.**

The Republican party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dyestuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this Act deprived the American producer and the American wage-earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.



It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

### **Business.**

The Republican party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and of the great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the tax payer and in an inferior product.

The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business, should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

### **Rural Credits.**

We favor an effective system of Rural Credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic Administration.

### **Rural Free Delivery.**

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

### **Merchant Marine.**

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American Merchant Marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American Merchant Marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

### **Railroads.**

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We therefore, favor such action by legislation or if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

### **Economy and a National Budget.**

The increasing cost of the national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of

a simple businesslike budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

#### **Conservation.**

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

#### **Civil Service Reform.**

The Civil Service Law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic party has created since March 4, 1913, thirty thousand offices outside of the Civil Service law at an annual cost of forty-four million dollars to the tax payers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

#### **Territorial Officials.**

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona fide residents of the territory in which the duties are to be performed.

#### **Labor Laws.**

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employes. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

#### **Woman Suffrage.**

The Republican party reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

Such are our principles, such are our "purposes and policies." We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

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The Gardner bill conflicts with the Constitution of Missouri and cannot be put into operation unless the Constitution is changed.

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The Gardner bill provides for exemption from taxation of more than \$40,000,000.00 of personal property and hence to raise the necessary revenue for the State, the tax on land must be increased.

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If the farmer secures cheaper money under the Gardner land bank bill, he will have to face an increased land tax as a result.



# State Republican Platform

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State Declaration of the Party Faith, Adopted August 23, 1916.

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The Republican party of Missouri, speaking through a convention of its representatives chosen as the law directs, makes the following declaration of its principles:

## **Endorsement of National Platform and Candidates.**

We reaffirm the Republican National Platform in every particular, as adopted at the Chicago Convention, and pledge our loyal support to secure the election of The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes and the Honorable Charles Warren Fairbanks, our candidates for President and Vice-President, respectively.

## **Loyal American Citizenship.**

We stand for an American citizenship that shall be unconditionally loyal to those principles of individual liberty and representative government upon which our fathers founded this great Republic, and which guarantee to every citizen the protection of his life, his liberty, and the enjoyment of the fruits of his legitimate industry, at home and abroad.

## **Protection of American Rights**

We believe in the protection of American labor, in the guaranty of the full rights and privileges of American citizenship to every citizen, and the guaranty of equal opportunity to all, and the equality of all men before the law.

## **Protection of Citizens at Home and Abroad**

We believe in the faithful fulfillment of our national obligations and in maintaining a fixed policy of good faith and justice to all nations, while demanding and securing, from other nations, the same respect for our rights and the same protection to our citizens, dwelling in their territory, that our laws secure to their citizens within our borders; and we insist upon the observance, by all nations with whom we have intercourse, of the fundamental, just and recognized principles of international law.

## **Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.**

We believe in international peace and friendship, and we would indorse any practical plan to prevent the resort to war for the settlement of disputes between nations.

## **National Preparedness**

We believe in adequate and timely national preparedness—economic, industrial, financial, military and naval—as the surest protection against war and as the only salvation of our country in case of war.

## **Protective Tariff**

We favor a tariff law, framed on Republican principles, so that it shall adequately protect American labor and prevent the destruction of American industries, which is sure to follow the termination of the present war in Europe if the Underwood Tariff Law, enacted by the Democratic party, shall remain in force. That law should be repealed as part of a rational program of National Preparedness.

The notorious failure of this law, even as a revenue measure, has compelled the Democratic party to resort to the odious stamp tax, denominated a "War Tax," in time of peace.

## **A Firm and Dignified Foreign Policy**

We denounce the vacillating and humiliating policy that has been pursued by the present National Democratic administration in its intercourse with foreign nations, a policy which has everywhere jeopardized and surrendered American rights, destroyed American prestige, and subjected our country to hatred and contempt; and we particularly denounce the unjust and hypocritical policy of the present Democratic administration in its dealings with Mexico.

### **Protection of American Citizens in Mexico**

When the present Democratic president came into power three years ago, he immediately began a policy of intervention and intermeddling in the internal affairs of the Mexican republic, coupled with a contemptuous disregard and abandonment of the rights and interests of American citizens domiciled in Mexico or engaged in commerce and industry therein, an intervention which helped to destroy every vestige of responsible government there and reduce that country to anarchy and ruin, resulting in the loss of hundreds of American lives and the destruction of millions of dollars of American property. The despairing appeals of our citizens to their own government against open and deliberate insult, robbery, oppression, outrage and murder fell upon deaf ears or were rejected as unworthy of consideration by an administration whose professions of devotion to the service of humanity did not include or recognize its plain constitutional duties or obligations to its own citizens.

### **The State Government Under the Domination of an Incompetent Democratic Machine**

We point with pride to the signally able and efficient management of the affairs of this state which distinguished the administration of the Honorable Herbert S. Hadley as forming a brilliant chapter in the political history of Missouri.

We declare that our state government is now in the hands of a selfish political machine who care nothing for the wishes or opinions of the people of this state, or of the rank and file of the party to which they belong, and who serve nobody but themselves. They have devoted their whole thought and effort for years to perpetuating their hold upon power and to creating new offices and commissions with fat salaries for their families and retainers, payable out of the state treasury or supported by official fees imposed upon honest industry and business, or wrung from the general public, while at the same time the legitimate charges of government and of public education and state wardship are not met, and bankruptcy threatens the financial administration of the fifth state in the Union in population and wealth of natural resources. These conditions have become intolerable. The present Democratic administration is thoroughly discredited and a change is imperatively demanded; nor does the ticket of the Democratic party, recently nominated, offer any promise of relief to the voters of the state.

### **The Only Relief Offered Is Through the Republican Party**

The Republican party has nominated a ticket which commands the support of all citizens interested in good government and it pledges all these candidates to an honest, efficient and wise administration of the affairs of this state that will protect and promote honest industry and encourage the development of the natural resources of the state, without imposing unequal burdens upon any class of citizens, while at the same time rigidly preventing monopoly and special privilege and insuring equal opportunity to all who are engaged in legitimate occupations, an administration that will restore the state of Missouri to the position of influence and leadership in this great nation to which by wealth and worth of citizenship, it is entitled.

### **The Appalling Record of Democratic Extravagance**

Four years ago the Missouri Republican State Platform declared:

"This State Administration has been so economically conducted as to convert a deficit of more than a million dollars at the beginning of the administration, into a surplus now in the state treasury."

The Democratic state platform of 1912 admitted this surplus and declared:

"The surplus now in the treasury and the splendid financial condition of the state of Missouri are due to the wise and efficient management of Democratic officers, and are the result of laws enacted by Democratic legislatures."

With the Democratic administration in power, the financial condition of the state is now pitiable. Its plight is not due to loss of revenue. The receipts from general and special taxation surpass all records. The state institutions are crippled. In spite of the secrecy as to financial conditions, anomalous in a free government, it is known that many of the state institutions scantily subsist on borrowed money or on funds doled out by the governor, acting under a belated and unconstitutional "Economy Order" of his own devising. The last General Assembly over-appropriated the estimated revenue five million five hundred



thousand dollars. The governor approved all but three million of this. On January 26, 1916, after the first half of the bi-ennum had elapsed, he issued his "Economy Order," seeking to do two years' retrenching in one. A month prior to this "Economy Order," the supreme court of the state ordered the return of \$334,189.31, which had, on July 3, 1915, been wrongfully diverted from the public school fund to the general revenue fund under a new and fanciful interpretation of the language of an appropriation act set forth in a purported opinion by the attorney general, which he repudiated before the test suit was called for trial. The present Democratic administration added \$3,790,734.94 to the cost of government in its first two years, over the preceding two years of the Hadley administration. The appropriations for salaries alone for 1915 and 1916, exceed those for 1911 and 1912 by \$452,262.00. The last two general assemblies made unnecessary increases of state expenditures. Such extravagance and incompetency are responsible for the humiliating condition of our state finances.

### **Inefficiency**

We condemn the present administration for the iniquitous conduct of the state institutions. Our charitable and penal institutions, and the police forces in some of our cities, have been prostituted to the political fortunes of the Democratic machine. Wanton waste, extravagance, nepotism and inefficiency have been the rule throughout the state. We pledge our candidates to the reform of such conditions, to the establishment of a general board of control of our eleemosynary institutions, to the adoption of the merit system in the public service of the state, and to the establishment of economy and efficiency in the state government, so that it shall be administered in the interests of the whole people, rather than any political party.

### **Financial Juggling**

We deplore the inefficient management and disgraceful juggling of the public funds, as has been the custom of Democratic administration, both past and present; the diverting and shifting of revenue from one fund to another for the purposes of deluding the taxpayers as to the true conditions of the finances of the state, and to the end that this evil may be corrected, we advocate the enactment of such laws as will give greater publicity to the true and actual financial conditions of our state.

### **Budget System**

We declare in favor of the adoption of the budget system under which anticipated revenue may be computed, the necessary amount required for all state expenditures ascertained, and appropriations kept within the limits of available revenue; but we also declare that the absence of a budget system does not excuse the Democratic party for the present deplorable condition of the state's finances, resulting from Democratic mismanagement.

### **Redistricting**

We favor an honest and fair redistricting of the state into congressional, senatorial, legislative and judicial districts, in accordance with the plain mandates of the state and federal laws to the end that representative government may no longer be outraged in Missouri, and we denounce the unfair and un-American division into which, for partisan purposes, the Democratic party has divided this state.

### **Workmen's Compensation**

We pledge ourselves to the immediate enactment of a just and practicable Workmen's Compensation law. Thirty-two states of the Union have enacted such laws within the past six years, while Missouri, under Democratic rule and in violation of platform pledges has adhered to obsolete and unfair laws. We also favor the enactment of laws designed to prevent industrial accidents.

### **Good Roads**

We congratulate the people on the progress made in highway improvement in some sections of the state, through the aid of voluntary organizations and by means of local efforts, and we call attention to the fact that adequate and effectual laws for state aid and encouragement of highway construction and maintenance have not been provided by the Democratic party. We favor a general revision of our road laws, so that there may be devised a simple and complete system of road and bridge construction and maintenance, which will be adapted to the requirements and means of the various counties of the state.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of laws necessary to secure the benefit of aid to road building by the federal government, and to supplement these by laws providing for proper

state aid, to the end that roads of all classes throughout the state, be properly improved and maintained. We recognize the necessity of developing the great arteries of travel throughout the state, and we also realize the great importance of improving, to a proper standard, market roads and community thoroughfares of all kinds.

#### **River Improvement**

Our senator and congressmen will advance the development by the federal government of our rivers for all transportation purposes.

#### **Geological Survey**

We favor such a geological survey as will announce to the world the location and extent of Missouri's vast resources.

#### **Local Improvements**

We favor the enactment of amendments to the present law whereby the cost of public improvements in our large cities may be brought within the bounds of reason and the cost of similar work in other states. We believe a modification of the plan whereby certain cities have obtained their park systems, if applied to all street improvement proceedings, would enable such work to be done at a saving of a large per cent of the present cost of such work.

#### **Pure Seed**

We favor the speedy enactment of a pure seed law to protect our farmers against impure and infertile seed.

#### **Reformation of Court Procedure**

We believe that the statutes governing court procedure in this state, in both civil and criminal cases, should be thoroughly revised and amended to the end that the administration of justice be made simpler, more expeditious and less expensive, and we commend the efforts of the Missouri Bar association now being made in this behalf.

#### **Home Rule**

We favor home rule for the large cities of Missouri, both because it is a fundamental American right and because the present system may be and has been used for factional and partisan purposes to thwart the will of the voters elsewhere in the state. We condemn the hypocrisy of the Democrats in plotting to destroy home rule after unexpected developments showed that it was not to their partisan advantage. We believe that the factional scandals that are disgracing Missouri are largely due to gubernatorial control of the police and excise matters of the large cities.

#### **Rural Credits**

We favor a fair, practicable and effective system of rural credits as opposed to the crude, ineffective and unwise scheme known as the Gardner Land Bank Plan.

#### **Pensions For Blind**

We favor a constitutional amendment for the pensioning of the needy blind.

#### **Penitentiary**

We are opposed to the partisan political and inefficient management of the state penitentiary. We stand for the humane treatment of convicts, the separation of hardened criminals from first offenders, the segregation of those afflicted with communicable diseases, the establishment of a hospital for the criminal insane, the employment of the able bodied, as far as possible, in the open air, and not in competition with free labor, the actual abolition of the contract system in the penitentiary, and the operation of the penitentiary in a modern, honest, business-like manner.

We favor the prompt establishment of an intermediate reformatory for first offenders, and condemn the Democratic state officials for completely ignoring the unanimous mandate of the last general assembly providing for such an institution by the appropriation of one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, which sum the state officials used for other purposes.

#### **Election Laws**

The primary and general election laws of this state should be thoroughly revised, as the laws provided by the Democratic party and now in force, both for the nomination of candidates for office of the persons nominated, are unsatisfactory.



### **Police Intimidation of Voters**

We denounce the practice of the Democratic state machine in employing the police forces of some of the large cities of the state to corrupt and control the elections and subvert the liberties of the citizens, by colonizing the criminal classes of said cities for political purposes and by arresting, terrorizing and intimidating honest voters on election day. This practice undermines the very foundation of free government and should receive overwhelming condemnation at the polls by all good citizens of this state.

We point with pride to the faithful and zealous manner in which the Republican party has, on all occasions, protected, guarded and upheld the right of franchise of every qualified voter of this state, and guaranteed to every voter the right to cast his ballot and to have that ballot counted as cast. We promise the voters of the state of Missouri that the Republican party, if put in power, will in the future maintain this high degree of fairness and efficiency.

### **Health Boards**

The party stands for adequate financial support of health boards and health officers of the state, counties and cities. It stands for the maintenance of county tuberculosis hospitals and public tuberculosis nurse service, financially aided by the state and nation.

### **Dairy Laws**

We favor the revision of the dairy laws of the state so that they will meet the present needs of modern dairying.

### **New Constitution**

We favor the submission by the next general assembly to the voters of Missouri of the question of a new constitution.

We declare in this connection that a new constitution should be framed as a non-partisan instrument, and therefore we recommend that the submission be made in a form to provide for an equitable and just representation of all political parties in framing said instrument.

### **Conclusion**

Upon the foregoing declaration of principles we confidently appeal to the voters of this state.

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“The bill appropriates \$1,000,000 of your money to start this bank. But where is this money? It is not in the State treasury, the Democratic officials have busted the treasury completely; there is not a dollar in it to furnish capital for Mr. Gardner’s bank. So hard up is the State and so empty the public till that the boards of management of State eleemosynary institutions have been forced to borrow money to operate on.

“The university, the State normal schools, the Missouri penitentiary and nearly all of the State institutions are running upon borrowed money, which will have to be met with large deficiency appropriation.

“So scarce is public funds that Democratic officials in 1915 took \$334,189 of the little children’s school money with which to pay salaries and other pressing State expenses. Public sentiment ran so high when this was discovered that a mandamus suit was brought and the Supreme Court told the officials to put the money back into the children’s fund.

“This indicates the deplorable condition of the public treasury and at the end of this biennial period, the State will be in the hole not less than \$2,500,000.”—Judge Henry Lamm.

# State Democratic Platform

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State Affirmation of Democratic Position, Adopted August  
22, 1916.

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The Democratic party of Missouri, in convention assembled, congratulates the State and nation that at this tragic period of the world's history we have at the head of the Government a President who has met all international complications in a spirit of dignity, firmness and fairness which has compelled the recognition of our rights as a great neutral power and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all the world.

The nation's honor and the nation's peace have been preserved by Woodrow Wilson.

We reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of Democracy and ratify and affirm the platform of our National Convention.

## **Organized Lobby Exposed**

We challenge attention to the great record of the Democratic Congress. It exposed the organized lobby which had for years infested the nation's capital. That lobby was headed by the hired agents of an organization misnamed "The National Manufacturers' Association." It had for years been instrumental in preventing all legislation calculated to ameliorate the conditions of labor. It habitually sent its hired employes into various congressional districts to defeat Congressmen who had sought to pass remedial legislation. It regularly spent vast sums of money in endeavoring to promote the political interests of its servants in Congress. It spied upon committees and corrupted subordinate governmental employes. The Democratic party drove it from the capital and compelled its dissolution.

The Democratic party, always mindful of the welfare of the farmer, and recognizing that he has been the victim of unjust interest exactions by farm loan companies, has, by enlarging the powers of national banks, created an immediate competitive market for farm mortgages and cattle paper.

## **Review of Rural Aids**

It is now organizing a great system of land banks which will enable farmers to procure long-time loans at from 4 to 4½ per cent interest, without the payment of commission charges, and which makes the borrower a participant in the profits of the land bank through which he negotiates his loans; this national system will co-operate with the State rural credit system in the same manner as State banks do with national banks.

It placed agricultural implements and many other articles especially used by farmers upon the free list.

It increased the appropriation for the Agricultural Department by 50 per cent, and has extended the powers of that great department so as to work incalculable advantages to the agricultural class.

It appropriated \$4,500,000 to promptly exterminate the foot and mouth disease.

It created a division of markets and rural organizations to study and disseminate information of special value to the farmers.

It created a live stock market and a live stock news service.

It passed the grain-standard act, which insures uniformity in grain grades.

## **Started Road System**

It passed the warehouse bill, which facilitates the storage of grain by the farmers, and the procurement of money on warehouse receipts.



It passed the agricultural-extension act, which will place two expert farm demonstrators in each county of the United States, and backed it by an appropriation of \$8,600,000.

It took the initial step toward the promotion of a great system of national good roads by appropriating \$80,000,000 to be expended in co-operation with the States, thus insuring the expenditure of \$160,000,000 and the ultimate creation of a general good-roads system, which will benefit every farmer in the United States.

The Republican party fastened upon the country an unsound banking and currency system, which concentrated the financial power in New York, and which has at frequently recurring intervals involved the country in panics.

The Democratic party abolished panics by establishing a sound currency and banking system; it transferred the seat of financial authority from Wall street to Government control in Washington. This great system has withstood the strain of a world war, and has made possible that prosperity which the country now enjoys.

### **Labor Legislation**

We call special attention to legislation for the relief of the wrongs suffered by labor. For over 30 years labor, without avail, knocked at the door of Republican Congresses, praying for relief against unjust laws and conditions. Their requests were not only disregarded, but often contemptuously rejected.

The Democratic party abolished Government by injunction.

It exempted labor and farm organizations from the terms of the Sherman anti-trust act and gave them statutory recognition.

It guaranteed trial by jury and the right to bail and appeal in contempt cases.

By the passage of the seaman's law, it abolished involuntary servitude in the merchant marine.

It created a Board of Railway Mediation and Arbitration, which has settled every railroad dispute up to the present time.

It enacted an eight-hour law for the protection of women and child workers of the District of Columbia.

It extended the eight-hour law to cover employes in the Alaska coal fields, and those engaged in the construction of the Alaska Railroad.

It provided for industrial education.

### **Investigated Mines**

It abolished the Taylor stop-watch speeding-up methods the Republicans had established in the United States navy yards and gun factories.

It provided for the construction of battleships in Government navy yards.

It investigated and exposed the intolerable labor conditions of West Virginian and Michigan mines.

It enacted the compensation law for Post-Office employes injured in the service.

It has just passed the workingmen's compensation law, applicable to all Government employes.

It established a children's bureau to study the condition of child life and the origin and prevention of child disease.

It prohibited the shipment of factory products of child labor in interstate commerce.

It abolished many other abuses against which labor justly complained.

### **Praise for Senators**

Missouri has always occupied a proud and foremost position in the Senate of the United States. In the early days of the Republic, Benton was admittedly the peer of Clay, Calhoun and Webster, and later came Blair, Schurz, Vest and Cockrell. Our present Senators, William J. Stone and James A. Reed, measure fully to the high stature of their predecessors.

As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Stone has been the adviser and the support of the President, and second only to him as a force for the preservation of the dignity and peace of the nation.

In his one term of service, Senator James A. Reed has placed himself in the front rank of the Senate. In the framing of the Federal banking bill, his work was that of a constructive statesman, and many of the most salutary provisions of that law are due to his foresight and wisdom. The committee, of which he was the leading spirit, exposed and drove from Washington the corrupt lobby. His work in both these great matters was such as to bring from President Wilson words of praise and thanks. In the halls of the Senate, the voice of Senator Reed is always raised in behalf of the principles of Democracy. He is recognized as the ablest debater in the great forum of the Senate. His return to the Senate is a national need.

The Missouri congressional delegation is one of the ablest at Washington. In all important legislation it has taken a leading part. The splendid personnel of our nominees is a guaranty that the State will continue to be represented by true and faithful exponents of the rights of the people.

#### **Tribute to Clark**

Missouri is proud of Speaker Champ Clark. The foremost contender for the presidential nomination in 1912, he accepted his defeat with grace and courage, and since has given to President Wilson a support so sincere and strong as to win the love and admiration of the whole American people.

The Democratic party presents to the State a ticket composed of men of the highest character, experienced in important affairs and of proven integrity. At its head is Hon. Frederick D. Gardner, who has already demonstrated his keen interest in the farming and industrial classes, and his ability as a constructive statesman, by originating and forcefully advocating a system of rural credits for our State that will result in lessening the interest burden to farmers, and which can be administered in co-operation with the national rural credits system now being established.

We heartily recommend the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment No. 2, known as the Missouri State Land Bank Amendment.

We commend the work of the Democratic General Assemblies of the State in the enactment of laws for the better government of the State, and the protection of the rights and liberties of its citizens, and call attention to the fact that no State has enacted more constructive legislation of direct benefit to the people than has been enacted by Missouri Democratic Legislatures.

#### **Support Given Schools**

Among these measures, compelling both public attention and indorsement, are the enactment of anti-trust laws (the first enacted in this nation); laws encouraging the agricultural, dairy and mining industries; adequate labor and strict usury laws; adherence to the doctrine and principles of local self-government; the generous support of our public school system and the preservation and protection of the sacred public school fund; the consistent and liberal support of our great university; our splendid system of normal schools, and the support of our eleemosynary and charitable institutions.

Among recent enactments are the creation of a public service commission; the establishment of the State Highway Department; the policy of State aid for schools, strengthening weak rural schools and assisting city, town and village schools, and establishing the teachers' training course within reach of all; the law creating the Board of Pardons and Paroles; the absentee voter's law; the corporation supervision law, compelling honesty in the use of corporate charters; the blue sky law, protecting our citizens against unscrupulous foreign investment companies; the comprehensive revision of the State banking law in harmony with the Federal reserve act; the law providing for the employment of convicts in State industries and on the public roads, at the same time abolishing the system of private contract labor; the insurance rating and supervision law; the law articulating with the Smith-Lever act, enabling our agricultural interests to receive Federal aid; the law granting cities the right to adopt the commission form of government. Responding to the needs of the farm interests of this State, we have submitted a constitutional amendment providing for the establishment of a State land bank and rural credit system. And, in general, with a uniform readiness, have promptly enacted any and all safe and progressive legislation for the general good of the people and the welfare of the State.



Under a long line of Democratic Governors and State officials, Missouri has prospered. Her laws have been enforced. We heartily approve and unreservedly indorse the wise, efficient and capable administration of Gov. Elliott W. Major and our other State officers. At no time in the history of the State have the interests of the people been more conscientiously and effectively safeguarded, and the benefits from this administration will grow and widen with the passing years.

We call particular attention to the fact that for the biennial period of 1915-16, the money apportioned to the public school children of the State exceeds the amount apportioned to the school children during any other biennial period by \$300,000, and exceeds the amount apportioned in the biennial period of 1907-08, when the Republicans were in control of the finances of the State, by almost \$1,000,000; and we indorse the action of our present Democratic State officials in having the question of the apportionment of school funds forever settled by a decision of the Supreme Court.

We congratulate the taxpayers of Missouri upon the fact that, during the past eight years, a majority of the State Board of Equalization has been sufficient to thwart the persistent efforts of the only Republican executive the State has had since the Civil War, in attempting to treble the taxes of the people, and we declare ourselves in favor of a law compelling holders of hidden wealth to return same to the Assessor for taxation purposes.

The Democratic party is proud of the fact that during the biennial period of 1915-16 under Democratic administration there has been paid from the State Treasury to the various counties of the State, for good roads, almost a million dollars. This is startling and gratifying when we consider the fact that during the biennial period of 1907-08, when Republicans were in charge, there was nothing paid to the benefit of good roads from the State Treasury.

We declare our hearty interest in the development of country life. We favor the enactment of laws to protect farmers and dealers against the uses of adulterated farm seeds. We also favor a revision of the dairy laws so that they will meet the needs of modern dairying in this State.

The party stands for adequate financial support of health boards and health officers of the State, counties and cities.

It stands for the maintenance of county tuberculosis hospitals and public tuberculosis nurse service, financially aided by State and nation.

#### **Compensation Law**

The Democratic party pledges itself to make ample appropriation to care for the dependent ex-Confederate soldiers of Missouri.

We pledge the people that the business of the State will be conducted in a business-like manner and with strict economy. We will provide a method by which the General Assembly, upon convening, shall be furnished with an accurate estimate of the State revenues, together with a tabulation, showing all fixed charges and the amounts necessary to maintain the various State institutions and departments, and such other information as may be necessary to a full understanding of the condition of the State's finances.

We further pledge the candidates of this convention that they will keep the appropriations of the State within its estimated revenues.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a just and adequate workmen's compensation law, fairly and efficiently administered.

We favor the submission by the next General Assembly to the voters of Missouri of the question of the need of a new State constitution.

The public approval of our party's work in amplifying the State support of the public schools is convincing evidence of the wisdom of what has already been done in this direction.

#### **Missouri the Center**

We reaffirm our devotion to the cause of public education and pledge our support to measures tending to the development in the youth of the State a character that shall be rooted in a reverence for truth, in a sympathy for one's fellows, and in a patriotism that shall always be ready to sacrifice selfish interests to the welfare of the State.

Believing that better rural schools and good roads on which they may be reached will do much in solving one of the serious social ills of the time, we pledge ourselves to their improvement and to the co-operation with the Federal Government to this end.

State development—Missouri is "the center State" both as to location, citizenship and opportunity, and we urge co-operation in organized activity for the practical development of Southern Missouri and the State at large as the ideal country for investment, welcoming the homeseeker and home builder, to the end that Missouri-made, Missouri-mined, and Missouri-grown products may increase in favor throughout the world.

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"Col. Gardner is a clever gentleman and I have no quarrel with him. I shall indulge in no personalities and if they are injected into the campaign it must be done by others and not by me. But he is running for governor upon a platform which indorses the extravagant administration at Jefferson City, which has bankrupted the State Treasury, and crippled the activities of and impaired the efficiency of the State's eleemosynary, penal and educational institutions. Gardner also is running upon a platform indorsing what is called the Gardner land bank law. These matters I intend to discuss fearlessly and as vigorously as I can. These are issues in which the people are interested and I would not deserve to be governor of Missouri should I fail to discuss them and state my views upon them."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"You can raise the million dollars necessary to establish the land bank in three ways; first, by raising your taxes; second, by issuance of bonds and paying them off with interest; third, by starving every activity of Missouri, by stinting her schools, her roads and by depriving her unfortunates of adequate attention. Do you want to do this?"—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"I have been referred to as Hercules. If I remember correctly, Hercules cleaned out 3,000 or more stables. When a small boy I learned the functions of a broom and it is up to us Republicans to all man ourselves with brooms that will sweep clean the State house at Jefferson City."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"They appropriated \$1,000,000 from the state treasury to put this land bank act in operation, but everybody knows that there is not a dollar in the treasury which the State does not owe. The State treasury is busted flatter than a flitter, the State's purse is as flat as if an elephant had stepped on it. How then are you to get the million dollars to start Gardner's land bank?

"There are three ways, the first is by increasing your taxes; the second, by issuing bonds, and the third is by skimping and starving the philanthropies of the State and permitting the State's unfortunates and the State's educational institutions to suffer. We owe the State University, the State Normal, the State Penitentiary, sums aggregating many thousands of dollars. We owe the colony for Feeble Minded at Marshall more than \$70,000; the ex-Confederate pensions are unpaid, and the aggregate pensions now due them will exceed \$150,000. Where then is that million to come from?"—Judge Henry Lamm.



# Gardner Bill and Single Tax

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Detailed Analysis by Judge Henry Lamm of the Gardner  
Land Bank Bill.

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(From Judge Henry Lamm's Opening Speech at Springfield,  
Sept. 11.)

My distinguished opponent is reported to have lately said in a public interview that if I criticised his land bank bill I would lose 50,000 Republican farmer votes. As he puts all his eggs in that one basket, I intend now and then to analyze that bill and discuss it, subjecting it to a proper critical investigation.

Have you ever read the Gardner land bank bill? Not the glowing advertisement put forth broadcast in the state as a part of a propaganda of a nomination primary and continued since, but the real thing, the bill itself? Read it, by all means, for you must pass on and make it a part of our Constitution at the November election or reject it. It was known in its passage through the legislature as the "Gardner Campaign Bill," but that was a flippancy of no value now. Thousands and thousands of Democrats were told before the primary that it was a mere hobby to ride into office, but that does not concern us either.

Neither does it concern us that the bill in some of its parts reads more like an argument than a law. That is a matter of taste, not of principle. But it does concern us to know whether the bill is a clear, working, wise, valid law.

It is a well known historical fact that Missouri once had an experience in banking, and so disastrous were the results that it not only went out of the business, but wrote into the Constitution of the State a provision which prohibited the legislature from again putting us into such business.

The Gardner land bank bill, which was passed by the last legislature and approved March 23, 1915, was found to be in direct conflict with Section 26, Article XII, and other provisions of the Constitution of Missouri, and therefore void. Petitions have been circulated under the provisions of the initiative and referendum laws of this State and have been filed with the Secretary of State, requiring a submission at the November election of an amendment to the Constitution of the State changing our fundamental law in order to validate the Gardner bill. It should be remembered that when the Constitution has been amended by validating the bill, the bill itself can never be thereafter amended to cover its defects by any new acts of the legislature. To do that thing, the Constitution itself would have to be amended by a curative amendment. It is so written in the Constitution.

Section 4 of the proposed Gardner amendment to the Constitution reads as follows:

"Any law heretofore enacted by the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of Sections 1, 2 and 3 hereof, shall be deemed valid from and after the adoption thereof."

It is clearly apparent that the "law heretofore enacted by the General Assembly" referred to in Section 4 above quoted

is the law known as the Gardner bill, enacted by the last legislature (see page 196, Session Acts of Missouri, 1915). The Gardner bill now lies dead—still born—in the statutes, and the purpose of Section 4 above quoted is to bring it to life, and bringing it to life by a constitutional amendment would make it a part of the Constitution. Some good lawyers say that it could not thus be brought to life and that the effect of the proposed amendment would be merely to embalm it and preserve it in the Constitution, but assuming that Section 4 of the Gardner amendment would vitalize his bill, it is clear that it would exist from and after the adoption of such constitutional amendment as a part of the Constitution, for as soon as the people vote in favor of the proposed amendment, the Gardner bill being by reference made a part of the amendment, it at once becomes a part of the Constitution, and from that time forward it will be the organic law made by the people themselves and as a part of the Constitution it would limit and control any law on the same subject thereafter enacted by the legislature.

In so serious a matter as a change in a great governmental policy which requires an amendment to the Constitution, no fair minded man can be heard to object to a reasonable discussion and a just consideration.

It is of sharp interest to know that either one of two things is true about that bill, namely, it was so illy considered at its passage that it was not discovered at the time that it openly and flagrantly violated our Constitution in vital aspects (a fact admitted by all students of our Constitution), and that it was a piece of legislative folly until and unless the Constitution was amended, or else the legislators knew that fact and purposely refused to pass and submit a resolution amending the Constitution and left it to the author of the bill to take the cumbersome and expensive course of using the initiative method of submitting a constitutional amendment by petition, if he saw fit.

We stand for rural credits by an efficient and just law. My present impression of his bank scheme is that it is unnecessary from any point of view. All men know that the vast power and wealth of the federal government are behind a land bank scheme for rural credits to be carried out by land banks reaching every nook and corner of our country. What I would like to know is why Missouri, at this critical time in her affairs, should embark in the expensive and hazardous banking business when the federal government has passed a law which covers the same ground? Is the federal government scheme a bad or ineffective one? If so, why? Why should we start a rival scheme in Missouri when the state government from what we have seen this last year apparently has all it can do (and a little more now)? Take, for instance, our roads, penitentiary, schools and eleemosynary institutions, pensions to indigent Confederate soldiers and big deficiency bills looming. It seems clear that we do not need a Missouri land bank bill until it is shown that the federal scheme is ineffective or insufficient.

I labor under the impression, also, that all men know the million dollars appropriated by the last legislature to start his bank was an appropriation made from an empty treasury, a sucked orange, a treasury already exhausted by several million dollars of over-appropriation. It was a silly appropriation without a dollar of cash to back it. It is as plain as a pikestaff that there is not now in the state treasury, and will not be at the time called for in the law, to-wit, December 1, 1916, or at any other time, a million dollars of free money sub-



ject to the appropriation made by the last legislature for that bank.

### MEANS BONDS OR MORE TAXES.

The only way to get the million dollars to furnish the capital of that bank is by an issue of bonds, by increased taxation—one or the other—or else every other state activity must be starved. I would like to hear my distinguished opponent come down out of the clouds to the solid ground and explain where he intends to get his million dollars to start his bank and how. Indeed and in truth, his bank scheme is, in its present shape, but part and parcel of the wild and reckless over-appropriation of several million dollars beyond our revenue made by the last legislature.

My study of his bank scheme leads to the conclusion, furthermore, that it has the wretched infirmity of being a political bank pure and simple. There are several chips right there with several bugs hid under them. Its board of governors (directors) are changed every four years as the result of a political campaign. I am under the impression that no one ever heard of a great bank being run in that way. The thing never was done successfully and never will be. It is an unthinkable business proposition, openly inviting disaster. Its vast patronage is made a part of the spoils system by the bill itself.

Moreover, the scheme proceeds on the theory that interest can be cheapened by taking off all taxes on the money loaned by the bank—that is, the purchasers of the bonds to be issued pay no taxes. Now, why does not the scheme take off the taxes (if we want to go into business of that sort) on money loaned by any one on real estate so that farmers who do not want to go into this intricate and experimental bank scheme could also get money at cheapened interest from any source, and the people who own homes in towns and are in debt for them could also be aided by money cheapened by being relieved from taxation? And right here another inquiry springs, to-wit., why are not the benefits of the bill in cheapened money allowed to descend on the heads of the tenants who own no land, but rely on crop and other chattel mortgages to finance their farming operations? Why isn't the widow who owns no home allowed to borrow cheap money upon her cow? A general provision striking off taxation from all such loans would give cheap money to the tenant and the widow who surely need cheap money, would it not?

In going into the banking business it has generally been admitted on all hands among intelligent men, that the expense and losses of the bank should be met by profits. Under the bill, as passed, there is not a penny of profit accruing to the state? No issue is taken on that. Now, who pays the expense of running the bank? Who bears the losses? The general taxpayer or the borrower? That is a vital inquiry, or have we at last reached the millenium in banking, and are there to be no expenses and no losses? If it is the intention that the mice and rats of expense and loss shall nibble at the capital stock of the bank, how long will it take them to eat it away? The bill takes no adequate note of this deadly feature and offers no adequate safeguard. If it is proposed that the borrowers pay the expense and meet the losses out of the one-half of one per cent they pay on the amount they borrow, then that will create a fund each year of \$5,000 on each million loaned. Does any intelligent man suppose that the bookkeeping, the stationery, the books, the postage, the salary of clerks, the salary and expense of appraisers and managers and the losses in this intricate and vast experi-

mental bank will not exceed that amount by many thousand dollars for each million loaned? Now, what provision is there for paying the excess or for meeting the losses? If it is intended that the taxpayer should do so, should not the bill frankly say so and make provision for it? Believe me, there is a bug hid under that chip.

### SOME OF THE BILL'S DANGERS.

The bill makes the state collect the interest on the mortgage debts, the state then hands over to the debenture holder the interest on his debenture, sold him by the state. Suppose these two amounts, because of bad crops, death or other accident or disaster, do not equal each other, what then? Is it the intention that the state or the capital of the bank makes good the difference and keeps up the credit of the debenture for the time being by paying the interest? If so, then the bill should have frankly said so and made a provision for it. It certainly does not. If the debenture holder is to take the chance of his collecting agent, the state, not having been able to collect and hence not able to pay the debenture interest, the point should have been made clear by the bill. The credit of the debenture on the market certainly depends on a clear understanding on that point, and the bill is silent. If the credit and honor of the state are pledged in that vital aspect, then the people should know it. If not, the debenture holder should know it and the bill should make it clear. It does not.

What provision in the bill is there for seeing to it that the money loaned is actually and honestly devoted by the borrower to the express purposes provided by the act? None. What penalty is there for using the borrowed money in any way the wit or needs of the borrower suggests to him or diverting it from the purpose of the law? None. The bill stops short with handing over the money. It was loosely drawn to admit so great a defect and such a loophole for scandal as that.

There is no provision in the bill itself limiting the existence of the bank or providing for winding it up if the experiment should prove disastrous or unsuccessful. It is to be a bank for all time, for weal or woe, unless the Constitution be again amended; therefore, it should be well looked to. Foresight is better than hindsight and the public should look well before it leaps.

Not only does the bill create a flock of political jobs which will be filled by party workers, whose duration in office depends upon the continuation in office of the political board which the law provides shall control and manage the bank, but it gives to such political board and to the party workers holding appointments under them a powerful club over the borrower, which may be used with telling effect for campaign purposes. What more effective instrument could be given to the party in power for building and perpetuating a political machine?

We have recently witnessed the spectacle of a warden of the penitentiary ordering the guards of that institution to vote for certain candidates for office and instructing them to urge upon the grocer, the butcher, the merchant and others with whom they deal, to vote for such candidates, and in this connection it is well to remember that the Gardner bill designates as governors of this bank the same state officials that constitute the board which has so grossly mismanaged the state penitentiary during the past three years. Do the



taxpayers of Missouri want to put their money into a bank with the prospect of having it managed as the penitentiary is now being managed?

Furthermore, what justice is there in levying upon the farmer who doesn't want to go into this intricate banking scheme, a tax for the purpose of raising the \$1,000,000.00 capital stock. What justice is there in levying such a tax upon the merchant, the grocer, the butcher or the mechanic and other laborers who, under the provisions of the bill, are not permitted to borrow from such bank.

There are other lurking dangers in this bill. It certainly is a long step in the direction of the single tax heresy, and it surely violates Article 10, Section 3 of the Constitution, which ordains:

“Taxes \* \* \* shall be uniform upon the same classes of subjects within the territorial limits of the authority levying them.”

The Gardner bill (see page 196, Session Acts of Missouri, 1915) provides that when the bank shall have loaned \$500,000.00 and shall have on hand, to that amount, secured deeds of trust, it shall have power to sell and issue its debenture bonds for a like amount, and that after the first issue of \$500,000.00 of debenture bonds the bank may sell and issue like series of debenture bonds at any time and as often as in the judgment of the managers there shall be on hand deeds of trust of an amount sufficiently large to make such a series.

The Gardner bill further provides that the debenture bonds of said bank shall be exempt from State, county and municipal taxes of any and all kinds.

The bill further provides that bonds may be issued on notes and deeds of trust to the aggregate amount of \$40,000,000.00. In other words, the man who has money for investment and who desires to escape taxation upon such personal property can invest such money in debenture bonds. Under the provisions of the Gardner bill, such issues can be continued until \$40,000,000.00 of personal property in the State is invested in non-taxable debenture bonds, and after the \$40,000,000.00 have been consumed, then the Gardner bill provides for additional issues, so that there is no limit to the amount of personal property which may thus become exempt from taxation; then, too, WHEN THE FARMER SUCCEEDS IN GETTING CHEAP MONEY, THE LABORER WHOSE HOME IN THE TOWN IS MORTGAGED, WILL DEMAND CHEAP MONEY; AND THE TENANT WHO HAS ONLY HIS TOOLS AND CROP WILL DEMAND CHEAP MONEY; AND THE WIDOW, WHO OWNS HER COW, WILL DEMAND CHEAP MONEY; AND THE MAGNANIMOUS FARMER WHO ENJOYS THE BENEFIT OF CHEAP MONEY WILL NOT BE WILLING TO DENY THAT BENEFIT TO THE LABORER, THE TENANT OR THE WIDOW, AND THE INEVITABLE RESULT WILL BE THAT ALL LOANS UPON PERSONAL AND REAL PROPERTY WILL SOONER OR LATER, BE EXEMPTED FROM TAXATION; AND WHEN THAT DAY COMES, AS IT MUST RAPIDLY COME UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE GARDNER BILL, WHAT WILL THERE BE LEFT UNDER THE LAW TO TAX EXCEPT THE LAND, AND THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT THE SINGLE TAX CHAMPION ADVOCATES.

ISN'T IT TIME THAT THE FARMER SHOULD AWAKE TO A REALIZATION OF THE FACT THAT BEHIND THIS ATTRACTIVE AND ALLURING CHEAP MONEY SCHEME LURKS THE DREADED SINGLE TAX HERESY?

# The State's Finances

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## A Record of Deficiencies Under the Last Democratic State Administration.

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The Republican State Platform of 1916 makes this succinct and unassailable statement as to the finances of the State:

“Four years ago the Republican State Platform declared:

“‘This state administration has been so economically conducted as to convert a deficit of more than a million dollars at the beginning of the administration into a surplus now in the state treasury.’

“The Democratic State Platform of 1912 admitted this surplus and declared:

“‘The surplus now in the treasury and the splendid financial condition of the State of Missouri are due to the wise and efficient management of Democratic officers and are the result of laws enacted by Democratic legislatures.’

“With the Democratic administration in power, the financial condition of the State is now pitiable. Its plight is not due to the loss of revenue. The receipts from general and special taxation surpass all records. The state institutions are crippled. In spite of the secrecy as to financial conditions, anomalous in a free government, it is known that many of the state institutions scantily subsist on borrowed money or funds doled out by the governor, acting under a belated and unconstitutional ‘economy order’ of his own devising. The last General Assembly overappropriated the estimated revenue \$5,500,000. The governor approved all but \$3,000,000 of this. On January 26, 1916, after the first half of the biennium had elapsed, he issued his ‘economy order,’ seeking to do two years’ retrenching in one. A month prior to this ‘economy order’ the Supreme Court of the state ordered the return of \$334,189.32, which had on July 3, 1915, been wrongfully diverted from the public school fund to the general revenue fund under a new and fanciful interpretation of the language of an appropriation act set forth in a purported opinion of the attorney general, which he repudiated before the test suit was called for trial. The present Democratic administration added \$3,790,734.91 to the cost of government in its first two years, over the preceding two years of the Hadley administration. The appropriations for salaries alone for 1915 and 1916 exceed those for 1911 and 1912 by \$454,262. The last two general assemblies made unnecessary increases of state expenditures. Such extravagance and incompetency are responsible for the humiliating condition of our state finances.”

It might well have added the financial plank of the Democratic state platform of 1914, which reads as follows:

“State Finances—The splendid financial conditions of the state and the unprecedented surplus now in the treasury attest to the wise and economical management of state affairs.”



Even later than this, Governor Elliot W. Major in his message to the 48th General Assembly in January, 1915, declared: "The financial condition of Missouri is good. The biennial period closed December 31, 1914, and all obligations have been paid promptly as presented."

This brings the discussion of our financial condition well into the present administration. The Democrats are estopped from raising any questions as to the preceding administration's finances.

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"I am going to prove in this campaign that Missouri has been the best managed state financially, under Democratic rule, in the Union," said Col. Fred D. Gardner, Democratic candidate for Governor at the Democratic State Convention in Jefferson City. This statement followed the adoption of the Democratic platform containing the following plank:

"We heartily approve and unreservedly endorse the wise, efficient and capable administration of Governor Elliott W. Major, and our other State officials. At no time in the history of the State have the interests of the people been more conscientiously and effectively safeguarded."

The above reflects the view of the Democratic candidate for Governor, as well as the Democratic party concerning the handling of the State finances during the last four years. As Democracy claims that the Major administration has never been excelled and that Missouri is the best handled state in the Union financially, it is fair to presume that no improvement is needed or can be looked for in the event of Democratic success.

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It is a notorious fact that State finances were never in worse condition. While it is difficult to get access to the State records, it is known that the Major administration was the most extravagant in the history of the State and the State closed last year with a deficit of one and a half million dollars. Appropriations of the last legislature run riot and the revenues were over-appropriated \$4,973,275.

The extravagance of the present administration was so pronounced that even the Democratic State Treasurer felt duty bound to call public attention to the fact and in his annual report dated June 1st, 1915, presented a table comparing the expenditures in the different departments for the biennial period of 1911 and 1912, under Republican administration, with the biennial period of 1913 and 1914, under Democratic administration.

In this report he shows that the Governor, for current expenses and maintenance of the Governor's Mansion, spent during 1911 and 1912, \$41,694.12, while during 1913 and 1914, there was spent \$49,192.51, this being an increase of \$7,498.39 under Democratic rule.

The Secretary of State spent in 1911 and 1912, \$56,183.06, while in 1913 and 1914, there was expended \$62,462.61, an increase under the Democratic years of \$6,279.55. The fees received by the Secretary of State in 1911 and 1912, amounted to \$323,312.90, while in 1913 and 1914, the fees amounted to \$262,297.02. While the expense of conducting the Secretary of State's office increased \$6,279.55 under Democratic rule, the fees collected decreased \$61,015.88.

The Attorney General's office spent in 1911 and 1912, \$54,607.07, while in 1913 and 1914 there was expended \$63,917.83, an increase under Democratic years of \$9,310.76.

The State Auditor's office spent in 1911 and 1912, \$44,957.89, while during 1913 and 1914, there was expended \$66,678.39, an increase of \$21,720.50 during Democratic years. This office received in 1911 and 1912, \$10,414.18 in fees, while in 1913 and 1914, there was received \$19,831.93 for fees. Thus it took an increased operating expense of \$21,720.50 to collect an increase of \$9,417.75 in fees.

The Beer Inspection department in 1911 and 1912 spent \$41,689.06, and in 1913 and 1914, spent \$50,570.18, an increase of \$8,881.12. In this office during 1911 and 1912, there was received for beer stamps tax \$962,159.33, while during 1913 and 1914, there was received from the same source \$987,869.63. Thus, under Democratic rule, there was an increase of \$25,710.30 in beer stamp tax receipts at an increased operating expense of \$8,881.12.

The total expenditures of the State during the years 1911 and 1912 were \$19,025,503.37, and in 1913 and 1914 were \$22,816,238.31, being an increase in cost under Democratic rule of \$3,790,734.94. The present administration is the most extravagant in the history of the State, and yet gained the endorsement and approval of the Democratic convention and the Democratic nominee for Governor.

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The extravagance of the present State administration was such that Governor Major was compelled to issue his celebrated economy order which virtually stopped all public building and permitted only the payment of official salaries and the minimum running expenses of the State. The Legislature appropriated \$60,000 for an intermediate reformatory at Boonville, but this work was stopped under the economy order of the Governor. The reconstruction of the buildings destroyed by fire at the Warrensburg State normal was ordered stopped, as about \$175,000 appropriated for that purpose was not available. A school for the feeble-minded and epileptic at Marshall, for which the legislature had appropriated \$100,000, could not be constructed. There are already a thousand applicants to this institution who cannot be admitted for lack of room, and because of the shameful extravagance of the present administration, those who are unfortunately afflicted cannot be given the treatment a humane state should provide.

So desperate is the condition of the State finances that the State University was compelled to go to private banks to borrow money with which to pay salaries and current expenses. \$83,000 was borrowed some time ago and another \$50,000 being arranged for.

The State is behind \$150,000 in its payment of Confederate pensions, and the aged veterans who expected State aid during their declining years, are deprived of this assistance through the mismanagement and criminal extravagance of the present Democratic administration. Even the Feeble-Minded School at Marsnall cannot get its funds, the State now owing that institution over \$70,000. Meantime, the State officials and the army of relatives on the pay roll, regularly receive their pay.

The State penitentiary has had to borrow at least \$150,000 to meet its current needs and although matters of this kind have been kept as secret as possible, it is known that most of the educational and eleemosynary institutions of the State are in the same condition.



So depleted were the State finances that in May of 1915, the Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, State Auditor and the State Treasurer, held a secret conference and took \$514,503.02 from the funds belonging to the school children of the State, and endeavored to use these funds for the general expenses of the State.

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In the face of these conditions, which do not admit of controversy, the Democratic platform boldly declares that never have the interests of the people been given more considerate attention and the Democratic nominee for Governor brazenly proclaims that Missouri is the best managed State financially in the Union.

The voter who is pleased with the present state of the finances in this State, can secure a continuance of the present carnival of extravagance by electing Col. Gardner, Governor, and continue in power the political party which brazenly boasts of the present outrageous conditions of our finances. No improvement can be expected either through Col. Gardner or the Democratic party in this State, for they both claim the record is unexcelled. If any change is to be expected, there must be a thorough house-cleaning at Jefferson City, and the Democratic party, which has brought about the sad condition of our finances and injured the good name of the State throughout the nation, should be overwhelmingly defeated at the polls this year.

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"Speaking of the raid on the school fund, my opponent's platform declares, in substance, that the State is to be congratulated in having a disputed point settled by the Supreme Court. \* \* \*

"The cold record is that the money was withheld and used secretly. The people knew nothing about it till long after it was done. That nobody had raised that point except those who needed and took the money for other State purposes is history. That the suit in the Supreme Court was an after-thought to avoid a flame of public indignation leaping mountain-high is known, too. That the raid was in the teeth of a long settled construction of the law made by those who were friendly to the schools and that unless the court had rapped the knuckles of the fist that held the money, it would have been lost to the schools, is also a known fact."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"Furthermore, if the land bank scheme does not squint towards a single tax eventually and if it is not a long step in that direction, I would like for my distinguished opponent to tell me why and let us reason together a bit about that proposition before the voters. It seems to me there is a chip there and a bug under it. My opponent and I could discuss these questions and many others relating to his bank scheme in a friendly way and I would hope to get him to abandon his scheme altogether after the discussion and let the campaign proceed on other lines. For instance on the line of whether we do not need a change in Missouri and whether the people are really and truly as satisfied with what has happened in the State and its political and business affairs in the last few years as his State platform affirms."—Judge Henry Lamm.

# School Fund Juggle

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The Attempt to Divert the School Funds and What it  
Would Have Cost Each County Had the Court  
Not Interfered.

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On August 4, 1915, the people of Missouri were surprised to read that on July 3rd preceding, the State Auditor had certified to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction an apportionment of the public school funds which was \$317,733.35 less than for the preceding year, although the general revenue had increased \$600,000. Following the method of interpretation which had been used since 1887 the school apportionment for 1915 would have been \$514,503.22 more than certified. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Supreme Court of Missouri on December 22, 1915, ordered the return of \$334,189.31, which it held had been wrongfully diverted from the public school fund. It will be seen, however, that this effort resulted in a loss of \$180,313.71, which would have gone to the school fund for 1915, had not this question of interpretation been raised. The schools will suffer proportionately every year unless the general assembly modifies the language of the school fund appropriation act to meet the Supreme Court's decision. This is the reason for the vote of thanks which the Democratic state platform of 1916 gives when it says: "We endorse the action of our present Democratic state officials in having the question of the apportionment of school funds forever settled by a decision of the Supreme Court."

## How it Was Settled.

The diversion of the school fund was agreed upon at a secret conference of the state officials in May, 1915. Even before that time, as early as November, 1913, the State Auditor had procured an opinion from Assistant Attorney-General Fitch to the effect that "ordinary revenue" meant only proceeds of direct taxation. For some mysterious reason the 47th and 48th General Assemblies were allowed to re-enact the school fund appropriations without their attention being called to this opinion. The apportionment was made and the money diverted to the general revenue fund nearly a month before the vigilant correspondents discovered the facts on August 3rd. The Auditor at first declined to explain why he had departed from the customary interpretation of the language of the school fund appropriation. Finally he said his action was based upon an opinion by the Attorney-General. On August 8th the State Superintendent of Public Schools said that he was helpless, that he would have to abide by the opinion of the Attorney-General. Indignation was rife throughout the state. School boards began employing attorneys to test the validity of the action of the Auditor. On August 9th the State Superintendent announced that he would, at the request of the Auditor, file a friendly suit to test the new interpretation of the law. Both the Governor and the Attorney-General were out of the State. Vague and unsatisfactory interviews appeared from the Attorney-General who was on a Chautauqua trip. The Governor returned to the State and promised an extra session of the General Assembly (which would



cost \$250,000) to see that the public schools lost nothing, if the Supreme Court upheld the interpretation which he and his associates had placed upon the appropriation act in the preceding May.

On August 29th, the Attorney-General announced that he would withdraw his opinion. The next day he did so in a letter to the State Auditor directing him to return the entire \$514,503.02. The Auditor refused to be governed by the new opinion and insisted on the matter going to the Supreme Court. Subsequently an offer to compromise was made, but public opinion demanded that the case be pressed to an end. The day the suit was filed, August 12, 1915, there was only \$46,655.94 left in the treasury with which to replace the school fund, had an order come instant. It was the need of money and not the desire to interpret the school fund appropriation act which was responsible for this juggle.

### School Fund Juggle

The State apportioned to the schools this year, \$1,951,042.27. The following table shows the amount apportioned to each county and how much each county would have lost had the Supreme Court not compelled the state-house crowd to return the \$334,189.31 they had unlawfully taken:

	Amount finally ap- portioned to each county.	Amount each coun- ty would have lost under Demo- cratic plan.
Adair .....	\$ 12,264.18	\$ 2,317.66
Andrew .....	9,223.50	1,784.10
Atchison .....	9,281.98	1,713.61
Audrain .....	10,989.66	2,137.67
Barry .....	21,226.54	2,535.95
Barton .....	10,414.87	2,159.41
Bates .....	15,848.31	3,099.42
Benton .....	15,549.65	1,457.02
Bollinger .....	10,365.83	1,068.58
Boone .....	17,330.64	3,220.58
Buchanan .....	38,877.13	7,955.24
Butler .....	13,491.24	2,433.80
Caldwell .....	10,801.70	2,052.03
Callaway .....	14,596.84	2,284.82
Camden .....	11,916.59	941.44
Cape Girardeau .....	14,212.95	2,596.30
Carroll .....	15,271.31	2,850.49
Carter .....	3,572.59	425.35
Cass .....	16,332.39	2,587.92
Cedar .....	11,842.40	1,665.80
Chariton .....	15,281.74	2,673.11
Christian .....	11,594.61	1,819.77
Clark .....	8,869.63	1,449.03
Clay .....	12,472.84	2,376.10
Clinton .....	9,651.44	1,839.42
Cole .....	9,561.19	1,691.83
Cooper .....	10,291.51	1,885.77
Crawford .....	12,284.27	1,390.52
Dade .....	11,178.39	1,872.51
Dallas .....	17,805.27	1,288.08
Daviess .....	12,537.44	2,071.95
DeKalb .....	7,618.60	1,440.17
Dent .....	10,612.73	1,265.30
Douglas .....	15,299.54	1,433.06
Dunklin .....	14,434.95	3,288.52
Franklin .....	14,526.63	2,646.83
Gasconade .....	6,288.49	1,085.77
Gentry .....	10,466.57	2,001.98
Greene .....	33,148.03	6,958.42
Grundy .....	10,703.17	2,143.37
Harrison .....	16,214.89	2,823.99
Henry .....	18,110.73	3,211.50
Hickory .....	5,994.39	751.91
Holt .....	10,066.44	1,894.49
Howard .....	8,290.25	1,560.21
Howell .....	21,372.17	2,288.50
Iron .....	4,431.25	750.67
Jackson .....	165,037.95	28,524.05

	Amount finally ap- portioned to each county.	Amount each coun- ty would have lost under Demo- cratic plan.
Jasper .....	48,456.69	10,334.25
Jefferson .....	12,806.04	2,494.93
Johnson .....	14,226.36	2,707.22
Knox .....	9,274.98	1,288.71
Laclede .....	15,795.94	1,731.97
Lafayette .....	15,415.77	2,994.20
Lawrence .....	15,231.23	3,134.00
Lewis .....	9,382.79	1,586.58
Lincoln .....	9,273.57	1,773.23
Linn .....	17,044.41	3,458.78
Livingston .....	11,777.66	2,215.24
McDonald .....	11,834.45	1,682.62
Macon .....	17,092.17	3,264.40
Madison .....	9,134.07	1,025.60
Maries .....	9,629.68	757.21
Marion .....	13,140.17	2,794.52
Mercer .....	8,166.17	1,380.14
Miller .....	12,995.59	1,547.51
Mississippi .....	7,998.77	1,548.83
Moniteau .....	8,783.16	1,409.67
Monroe .....	9,489.02	1,809.74
Montgomery .....	10,421.94	1,629.51
Morgan .....	7,725.98	1,231.56
New Madrid .....	10,787.57	2,258.01
Newton .....	16,943.32	3,207.63
Nodaway .....	20,091.10	3,628.70
Oregon .....	12,242.99	1,588.74
Osage .....	5,893.71	1,071.99
Ozark .....	10,445.25	1,064.77
Pemiscot .....	7,948.22	1,581.78
Perry .....	7,056.18	902.58
Pettis .....	19,056.26	3,682.23
Phelps .....	11,579.93	1,699.17
Pike .....	11,721.28	2,169.59
Platte .....	9,116.25	1,762.30
Polk .....	16,310.86	2,372.55
Pulaski .....	11,544.55	1,462.77
Putnam .....	11,412.24	1,596.63
Ralls .....	6,089.13	1,123.53
Randolph .....	15,307.46	3,072.39
Ray .....	13,335.62	2,677.63
Reynolds .....	7,199.50	849.69
Ripley .....	12,448.00	1,367.74
St. Charles .....	7,118.00	1,341.89
St. Clair .....	15,676.42	1,688.31
St. Francois .....	19,717.37	4,128.42
Ste. Genevieve .....	6,083.10	655.58
St. Louis .....	39,168.23	8,389.54
Saline .....	18,030.75	3,103.91
Schuyler .....	8,017.03	994.91
Scotland .....	9,938.00	1,392.83
Scott .....	12,994.10	2,643.09
Shannon .....	14,272.34	1,374.00
Shelby .....	9,080.40	1,571.05
Stoddard .....	17,241.34	3,324.22
Stone .....	10,346.03	1,193.90
Sullivan .....	13,352.73	2,425.54
Taney .....	8,798.16	870.21
Texas .....	28,269.44	2,475.95
Vernon .....	20,993.24	3,349.57
Warren .....	4,865.41	759.58
Washington .....	6,578.34	1,185.45
Wayne .....	11,765.20	1,733.08
Webster .....	10,162.87	1,746.46
Worth .....	5,849.69	951.72
Wright .....	18,677.59	2,204.66
St. Louis City .....	304,865.05	60,030.58
Total .....	\$1,951,042.27	\$334,189.31

"If the raid on the school funds was not necessary to supply funds to pay the civil list of the State and prevent a paralysis, then it was inexcusable. If it was necessary, then it was so much the more inexcusable, because such necessity should have been foreseen and prevented."—Judge Henry Lamm.



## School Fund Notes

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### Some Interesting and Pertinent Facts About the School Money of the State.

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The Democratic State platform contains a plank endorsing the record of the Democratic State administration in "the generous support of our public school system and the preservation and protection of the sacred school fund." If this section of the platform is meant as a joke, it is a good one. If it is meant seriously, it is an insult to the intelligence of the Missouri voter.

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Missouri at one time possessed a large permanent school fund, but it no longer exists. Under Democratic rule, this was diverted into so-called certificates of indebtedness, which were later legalized by constitutional amendment, and in place of a permanent school fund, we have fostered on the State a permanent and perpetual debt, now amounting to \$4,398,839.42. As regular as the legislature meets an appropriation is made to pay the interest on this debt (called certificates of indebtedness) and at the last Legislative session, under act of February 12th, 1915, found on page 88, of the 1915 session acts, there was appropriated \$500,503.93 to pay the interest on this debt. Through Democratic juggling our permanent school fund, in place of being loaned to others, has been used by the State itself and a permanent State debt created.

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The proceeding of the state-house crowd last year was a deliberate attempt to make inroads on the funds of the public schools. This is plain in view of the fact that when they agreed to divert these funds, they immediately spent the money. On June 30th, 1915, only \$89,000 of the \$514,503.02 under controversy was on hand, the officials already having spent \$425,000. Had the Supreme Court promptly ordered this money returned it could not have been done, for the funds were not on hand.

When their action became public, they gave as an excuse that they desired to bring about an interpretation of the school fund law and make its provisions clear. It is noteworthy, however, that the only claim of a lack of clearness came from Democratic officials whose extravagant administration had practically bankrupted the State. Had they been sincere and had they any regard for the law, they would have respected the funds of the schools until the courts determined the matter, rather than take the funds in secret conference and spend them before an outraged public became aware of their action.

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After the storm of protest had gone over the State, Governor Major and State Auditor Gordon, both announced that should the court rule against the schools, the amount under controversy would be set aside as a special fund and the Legislature convened to reappropriate it for the benefit of the schools. In view of the fact that the money was already spent, there was little consolation in this promise, and as a special session of the Legislature costs something like a quarter of a million dollars, this plan of the Governor's does not appeal strongly to the taxpaying citizens of the State.

Through the action of the Court, the school apportionment was decreased \$180,313.71, but notwithstanding the Major and

Gordon promise, this amount has neither been set aside nor has there been any session of the Legislature called to return the money.

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The Democratic platform endorses this action of the State officials. Col. Gardner, Democratic nominee for Governor, endorses it. Will the voters of the State endorse it on election day?

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"Moreover the scheme proceeds on the theory that interest can be cheapened by taking off all taxes on the money loaned by the bank, that is, the purchasers of the bonds to be issued pay no taxes. Now why does not the scheme take off the taxes (if we want to go into business of that sort) on money loaned by anyone on real estate so that farmers who do not want to go into this intricate bank scheme could also get money at cheapened interest from any source, and the people who own homes in towns and are in debt for them could also be aided by money cheapened by being relieved from taxation?"—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"My study of his bank scheme leads me to the conclusion furthermore that it has the wretched infirmity of being a political bank pure and simple. There are several chips right there with several bugs hid under them. Its board of governors (directors) are changed every four years as the result of a political campaign. I am under the impression that no one ever heard of a great bank being run in that way. The thing never was done successfully and never will be. It is an unthinkable business proposition, openly inviting disaster."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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Judge Lamm spoke to the Polk County farmers straight from the shoulder on the land bank act. He told them his wealthy opponent, Col. Gardner, while in Jefferson City attending the Democratic State Convention in his private car said that if he attacked the land bank act it would cost him 50,000 Republican farmer votes.

"I do not care if it costs me a million votes, I propose to discuss this measure and to reveal to you the bug under the chip," he said. "Col. Gardner can't scare me by talk like that. I was not raised in the woods, to be scared by an owl."

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One of Judge Lamm's telling points against the Gardner land bank act was the fact Congress has enacted a federal rural credits law and that a State system is wholly unnecessary:

"The State of Missouri once went into the banking business, but that came to a dismal end, and the people wrote into a constitution, adopted then, a provision prohibiting the State from going into the banking business again," he said.

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Mr. Gordon is the one candidate on the Democratic ticket who ought by all means and under all circumstances to be retired from office. He is the remnant of the Major fiasco. His unfitness is attested by overwhelming evidence in the record. The Missouri voters will hardly care to re-elect the Gordon family.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



# Illiteracy in Missouri

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## The Low Rank the State Holds in Educational Matters Under Democratic Rule.

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Democratic rule in this State has not been completely broken since 1873. While the Republicans have elected one Governor and a few other state officers during that time, Democracy has not lost complete control of the State government since they came into power after the Civil War.

The Democratic platform just adopted at Jefferson City endorses the support which the Democratic administration has given to education in this state. Yet, the 1910 census shows that among illiterate males of voting age, Missouri stands 20th in the list of States, and that among illiterate persons of ten years of age and over, Missouri stands 21st in the list of States.

There is something radically wrong with our educational system. The fact that twenty states have a lower illiteracy than Missouri, shows that there is need for a change in Missouri's affairs, not only in the executive and legislative branches of the state, but also in our educational system.

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"No honest men want crooked work at the polls or in the count after they close. It is said that the voice of the people is the voice of God, but I tell you stuffed voting lists, stuffed ballot boxes, repeaters, thuggery, bribery at an election, make the voice of the people false and spurious voice, which it is sacrilege and mockery to call the voice of God."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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Our constitution, recognizing the danger, prohibits a second term to the Governor. Has not the time come to take another step and prohibit a Missouri Governor from becoming a candidate during his official term for any other office within the gift of the voters of Missouri? Such a prohibition would tend to do away with personal political machines, a source of scandals in the great charitable institutions and other governmental activities would be dried up, and our Governors would see their only chance for distinction in the faithful performance of gubernatorial duties—duties that are many enough and heavy enough, as all men know, to absorb their energy."—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"By slovenly business methods and reckless extravagance Democratic officials have bankrupted the State treasury and seriously crippled the State educational, eleemosynary and penal institutions. All of the activities of the State government have been starved. This is especially true of the schools and philanthropies. I was advised today that the State owes the poor, little defectives at the colony for feeble-minded at Marshall over \$70,000.

"I want to say to you that the man elected Governor deserves sympathy instead of congratulations if he is to tackle the miserable political mess created by the present administration and clean it out."—Judge Henry Lamm.

# An Expensive Official

## Record of the Democratic State Auditor's High Priced Trip to Utah.

By a majority that was overwhelming, the Democrats of the State have renominated John P. Gordon for State Auditor and thus endorsed the actions of this State official.

Gordon attended a meeting of the State Auditors at Salt Lake City last year, and allowed himself a claim against the State of \$201.21 for making the trip. The items of this account follow:

Railroad fare Jeff. City to Salt Lake City and return....	\$38.50
Pullman and observation car fares.....	18.00
Meals on trains both ways.....	28.00
Hotel and meals at Salt Lake City.....	82.50
Taxicab fare .....	10.50
Incidental expenses for 10 days.....	10.00
Expenses en route to Salt Lake City.....	8.50
Railroad fare, Chicago & Alton.....	4.46
Observation car, Chicago & Alton.....	.75
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	\$201.21

When the Prosecuting Attorney of Cole County prosecuted Gordon for allowing himself this money, some interesting developments were disclosed. Aside from his railroad and Pullman fares to and from Salt Lake City, Gordon allowed himself, while traveling, an item of \$8.50. When asked what this was for he did not know, but suggested that perhaps it was for tips. As it required but four days to make the trip to and from Salt Lake City, Gordon seems to have been quite liberal in tipping. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.

Gordon allowed himself a charge of \$10.50 for taxicab fare, thus availing himself of the most expensive means of transportation. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.

Gordon allowed himself \$28.00 for meals while traveling to and from Salt Lake City. He testified that it required four days to make this trip, so his meals cost an average of \$7.00 a day, or \$2.33 for every meal during that time. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.

Arriving in Salt Lake City, Gordon's appetite seemed to increase. He allowed himself \$82.50 for hotel bills while in that city, testifying that he was there five days and that his room rent cost him \$2.50 a day. He testified that none of this bill was for cigars or drinks, and the only other legitimate purpose for which the balance of this bill could be charged was for meals. Deducting from the \$82.50 the \$12.50 room rent, would leave \$70.00 for meals for the five days, being an average of \$14.00 a day, or \$4.66 for every meal while in Salt Lake City. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.

Gordon also allowed himself a dollar a day for incidentals, this probably being used to buy a bit of lunch between meals. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.



Whatever else may be said of Mr. Gordon, he is a luxurious traveler, and doubtless the Auditors of the other states were impressed with the fact that Missouri's treasury was overflowing. Few would have suspected that the State's finances were so low that the general revenue fund was being replenished with the money of the school children.

Morris Gordon, son of John P., Supervisor of Building and Loans, took a trip to San Francisco to attend a meeting of Building and Loan Supervisors, and filed an expense bill with the State for \$202.90, the items of which follow:

R. R. fare Jeff. City to San Francisco and return.....	\$56.40
Pullman and observation cars.....	24.00
Meals on the train.....	30.00
Expenses en route.....	5.00
Taxis and incidentals.....	15.00
Hotels and meals.....	72.50
	<hr/>
	\$202.90

John P. Gordon, as Auditor, allowed this account. THE STATE PAID THE BILL.

Gordon has practical nepotism to such an extent that the present Democratic State Chairman sent a letter over the State, urging that he be defeated for renomination. Almost every member of his family is on the State pay roll, their combined salaries and fees amounting to about \$12,000 a year.

Gordon was one of the parties that conspired to take from the school funds \$514,503.02 and which was only defeated through Court action. When Dr. Hill, President of the Missouri University, made public the fact that \$83,000 had been borrowed by that institution to meet salaries and current expenses of the University, Gordon publicly abused him, and attempted to belittle the head of our University because the extravagance of the State administration compelled that institution to go to the banks for support the State should have given.

The Democratic State platform and Col. Gardner, Democratic nominee for Governor, both endorse the Gordon record.

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"I labor under the impression also that all men know that the million dollars appropriated by the last legislature to start his bank was an appropriation made from an empty treasury—a treasury already exhausted by several million dollars of over-appropriation. It was a silly appropriation without a dollar of cash to back it. It is as plain as a pikestaff that there is not now in the State treasury, and will not be at the time called for in the law, to-wit, December 1916, or at any other time a million dollars of free money subject to the appropriation made by the last legislature for that bank.—Judge Henry Lamm.

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"We complain bitterly of legislatures with five or six clerks to each Democratic Senator and three times more than were necessary in the House. We complain of extravagance at a time the State needed every dollar of its revenue for pressing needs and useful ends—for schools, roads and sensible plans for social justice.—Judge Henry Lamm.

# Covering Things Up

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A Democratic Newspaper Tells of the Democratic Attempts  
to Hide Ugly Facts.

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As an evidence of the desperate attempts of the Democratic State officials to conceal the financial plight, the following is taken verbatim from a dispatch from the Jefferson City bureau of the St. Louis Republic, May 1, 1916:

## DEAL SUPPRESSES MONTHLY REPORT ON STATE'S FINANCES

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From the Jefferson City Bureau of  
The Republic.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., May 1.—The report of the transactions and condition of the State Treasury for April was filed by Treasurer Deal with Gov. Major today, following the requirements of law, but, contrary to custom, the figures were withheld from the newspaper correspondents.

A facsimile of the Treasurer's report, prepared from the books of State Auditor John P. Gordon, covering April, was also filed with the Governor, but this, too, was not made public.

No explanation was given as to why the two reports were withheld, except that instructions had been given that the figures were not to be given out.

That the general revenue fund is "cramped" after the payment of the civil list covering salaries for April there is no doubt, but what purpose is served by refusing to make public the monthly statement is not apparent.

**\$4,500,000 Unavailable.**

Auditor Gordon was out of town today and his chief clerk, Willard P. King, stated instructions had been received from Gordon not to give out the figures.

There has been a standing order from Treasurer Deal for several months that the figures of the monthly report must not be given out.



# Increased Expenditures

Shown by the Biennial Report of the Democratic State  
Treasurer.

Soon after the Governor's message in 1915, the Democratic officials were startled at the appearance of the biennial report of State Treasurer Deal. This report showed that for the biennium 1913 and 1914, the State's disbursements had been \$3,790,734.94 more than for 1911 and 1912. Of this increase \$1,063,202.89 was from the State revenue fund. He showed that the seventeen State departments had increased their expenditures \$257,066.36 over the preceding biennium. The receipts and disbursements by departments are as follows:

Following is a comparison of the expenditures of the last two years of the Hadley administration with the first two years of the Major's administration:

	1911-12.	1913-14.	*1913-14.
Governor .....	\$ 41,694.12	\$ 49,192.51	\$ 7,498.39
Secretary of State.....	56,183.06	62,462.61	6,279.55
Attorney General.....	54,607.07	63,917.83	9,310.76
State Auditor.....	44,951.89	66,678.39	21,720.50
State Treasurer.....	25,880.20	31,028.98	5,148.78
Supt. Public Schools.....	34,082.76	43,787.26	9,704.50
Beer Inspector.....	41,689.06	50,570.18	8,881.12
Oil Inspector.....	36,285.91	52,990.79	16,704.88
Labor Commissioner .....	46,487.36	47,268.36	781.00
Bureau of Mines.....	34,402.71	42,946.93	8,544.22
Poultry Association .....	31,222.81	62,495.97	31,273.16
General Assembly.....	239,579.49	279,364.89	39,785.40
Insurance Superintendent..	58,258.81	72,054.42	13,795.61
Warden Penitentiary.....	693,792.12	763,294.63	69,502.51
Bank Commissioner.....	73,693.56	80,226.61	7,094.84
Factory Inspector.....	34,142.56	35,760.98	1,618.42
Hotel Inspector .....	22,479.64	26,702.15	4,222.51

\*Increase.

"The police belong to neither Republicans nor to Democrats, to partisans or nonpartisans. They belong to the whole citizenship. They are an armed force, soldiers, paid out of the common purse for the common protection of all. The army and navy are out of politics. An enlightened sense of propriety in this State long since took the schools out of politics. It took election commissioners out of politics, and why should it not take the police, and every patch and shred of police activity and the whole machinery of police management and control out of politics?"—Judge Henry Lamm.

## ATTRACTIVE.

Undeniable attractiveness is lent the Republican platform by its savage condemnation of nepotism and of barbarities at the State prison and its pledge of home rule and of the introduction of the merit principle into Missouri's entire civil service.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

## Some Democratic "Achievements."

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### Increased Expenditures Shown in Practically Every Department of Administration.

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Treasurer Deal's report shows that seventeen departments of State Government, including the office of Governor and other elective officials, increased their expenditures in 1913 and 1914 over 1911 and 1912, \$257,066.

This report shows that the expenditures in 1911 and 1912 were \$3,790,734.94 less than in 1913 and 1914. Of this increase \$1,063.202 was from the revenue fund.

The Legislature appropriated for the years 1915 and 1916 \$1,165,375 to pay the salaries of the officeholders. In 1911 and 1912 the total expenditures for that purpose were \$711,113.19. The increase is \$454,262 for the two years.

Increased penitentiary payroll over \$21,000 for 1913 and 1914.

Heads of automobile, game and labor departments charged up during 1913 and 1914 their board and expenses while in Jefferson City, having established residences where they came from.

Defeated the enactment of a law to make it unlawful for an official to appoint members of his own family to public office.

Defeated the passage of a bill for a fair apportionment of State senatorial districts to supplant the present gerrymander.

Defeated a bill to repeal the statute under which the State Auditor pays out enormous sums of collateral inheritance money annually to favorite lawyers in fees for perfunctory assistance rendered in the collection of this tax.

Attempted to fasten the contract system of convict labor at the State Penitentiary on Missouri until March 31, 1921, this being thwarted by the Republican members of the Legislature. The makeshift prison bill was not passed until ten o'clock at night of the last day of the session.

Paid \$45,000 during 1913 and 1914 to kinfolks of State officials.

Increased cost of public printing from \$184,500 for 1911 and 1912 to over \$265,000 in 1913 and 1914.

Created jobs in 1913 costing over \$300,000 a year.

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"State finances are in a bad shape, but we suppose it is the duty of Democratic papers to make the best of it and defend a reckless and incapable administration."

"The Mercury would be in a better humor to whitewash profligacy had it not predicted just this condition of affairs three years ago, when the orgies of job-making began. It refuses to turn a flibfob until it sees further."—Paris Mercury (Democrat).



## Governor and Finances.

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### Disgraceful Incompetency Shown in Handling the Affairs of the State.

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In his message to the 48th General Assembly Governor Major said: "The revenues of the State are ample to conduct its business and also care for in an efficient way all of our educational eleemosynary and penal institutions when economically expended and without increasing the burden of taxation upon the people, or upon any business or class." In the same message he stated that the estimated revenue for the years 1915 and 1916 would be approximately \$11,500,000. He said: "The Legislature must take this into consideration in making appropriations, because I will not permit the appropriations to exceed the reasonable expectancy of the revenue." The appropriations did exceed the estimated revenues \$4,973,275.

On January 25, 1916, Governor Major issued an "economy order" under which he attempted to withhold \$1,200,000 of the appropriations he had approved as necessary within thirty days after the adjournment of the General Assembly. Were the original appropriations extravagant? Or is the economy order at the sacrifice of these institutions?

It will be noted that the Governor's order came within thirty-five days after the Supreme Court had ordered the return of \$334,189.31 to the public school fund.

The Governor at this time said there had been a shrinkage in revenues, but on May 4th he admitted that this shrinkage had been balanced by unexpected increases of other revenues. As the case stands, the Governor, whose administration the Democratic party "heartily approves and unreservedly endorses" as "wise, efficient and capable," approved appropriations which he knew to be \$2,500,000 in excess of the expectancy of the revenues.

There was no competency in dealing with the situation. The Warrensburg Normal was partly rebuilt, but must await the action of another General Assembly before it can be completed. The money thus idly spent would have been used by a competent administration for other purposes. It now stands as a monument to the present administration's incompetency.

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"The only way to get the million dollars to furnish the capital of that bank is by an issue of bonds or by increased taxation—one or the other—or else every other State activity must be starved. I would like to hear my distinguished opponent come down out of the clouds to the solid ground and explain where he intends to get his million dollars to start his bank and how. Indeed, and in truth, his bank scheme is, in its present shape, but part and parcel of the wild and reckless over-appropriation of several million dollars beyond our revenue made by the last legislature."—Judge Henry Lamm.

## Legislative Employees.

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### Scandalous Waste of the Public Money in Providing Jobs for Party Workers.

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The last session of the Missouri Legislature was the most extravagant known in Missouri history. Nearly 500 Democratic politicians were on the payroll as clerks, janitors, etc., and the cost for this horde of Democratic partisans was in excess of \$140,000, or \$2,000 for each of the 70 days of the session.

The membership of the House is 142 and of the Senate 34, a total in both houses of 176, so that there were nearly three times as many employees as there were members of the Legislature. While the number was later increased, when the session began there was a total of 475 employees made up as follows:

In the House there were 171 clerks; 24 janitors and 17 pages, and in the Senate there were 208 clerks; 42 janitors, and 13 pages, a total of 475.

During the same year, the Wisconsin Legislature had a total of 99 employees, the Michigan Legislature a total of 99 and the Indiana Legislature a total of 136 employees. Comparison with these states shows the extreme extravagance of the Missouri Legislature.

The Republicans, through Representative Ingel, of Madison County, introduced a measure to reduce the number of legislative employees, but the Democratic committee smothered the resolution.

With the extravagance shown by the Missouri Legislature, it is not surprising that the State is out of funds, that our educational institutions must go to banks to borrow money, and that raids have to be made on the school funds of the State.

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### DEMOCRATIC STATE "EFFICIENCY."

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The Democratic State platform endorses the "efficient and capable" Major administration. Seventeen departments of this administration spent \$257,066.36 more during the years 1913 and 1914, under Democratic rule, than was spent during the years 1911 and 1912, under Republican rule.

If this be efficiency, may the taxpayers of Missouri be spared from any more of it.

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### UNPAID DEBT TO CONVICTS.

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At the beginning of this year the State of Missouri owed to former and present convicts \$150,000, due them under the law, which requires the payment to convicts of five per cent of their earnings. Every Missourian should be ashamed of this confidence game worked on the helpless convicts.



## Providing For The Family

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### The General Practice of Nepotism on the Part of Democratic State Officials.

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A Jefferson City special dispatch to the Globe-Democrat, dated September 5, 1916, thus describes how the "royal families" are faring on the payroll:

The failure of the Democratic state platform convention to denounce the practice of nepotism, as did the Republican convention, possibly is explained by an examination of the family pay roll for August.

State Auditor John P. Gordon issued warrants and State Treasurer Deal paid for August a total of \$4,291.64 to the ruling Democratic families in Jefferson City. Here are the amounts paid to several families represented on the state pay roll for August:

Gordon Family—John P. Gordon, State Auditor and Democratic nominee for re-election, \$250; Mrs. Oma Gordon, wife of John P. Gordon, option stamp clerk, \$150; Morris G. Gordon, supervisor of building and loans, a son of John P. Gordon, \$200; Mrs. Nellie Gordon, wife of Morris Gordon, clerk in the Building and Loan Department, \$75; total for Gordon family, \$675.

#### Roach Family Gets \$500.

Roach Family—Cornelius Roach, Secretary of State, \$250; Miss Celestine Roach, daughter of Cornelius Roach, clerk, \$150; Miss Lina H. Millard, sister-in-law of Roach, stenographer, \$100; total for Roach family, \$500.

Major Family—Gov. Elliott W. Major, \$416.66; Edward T. Major, brother of Gov. Major, Secretary of State Fair Board, \$200; total for Major family, \$616.66.

Mosby Family—Thomas Speed Mosby, State Beer Inspector, \$250; Miss Frances Mosby, daughter of Speed Mosby, clerk in beer inspection department, \$150; total for Mosby family, \$400.

Allen Family—Jacob D. Allen, Clerk of the Supreme Court, \$250; William H. Allen, son of Jacob D. Allen, a deputy clerk of the Supreme Court, \$125; total for Allen family, \$375.

McClung Family—D. C. McClung, Warden of Missouri Penitentiary, \$250; Carl McClung, son of Warden McClung, commissary officer in the Penitentiary, \$100; total for McClung family, \$350.

Rader Family—Perry S. Rader, official reporter of the Supreme Court, \$250; John Rader, son of Perry S. Rader, assistant reporter of Supreme Court, \$166.66; total for Rader family, \$416.66.

Dillard Family—Joseph G. Dillard, state hotel inspector, \$166.66; Mrs. Marguerite Dillard, wife of Inspector Dillard, \$75; total for Dillard family, \$241.66.

Mitchell Family—J. T. Mitchell, state bank commissioner, \$291.66; F. C. Mitchell, son of J. T. Mitchell, bank examiner, \$166.66; total for Mitchell family, \$458.32.

### Others on Pay Roll.

In addition to the families holding jobs by direct or indirect influence of relatives at the heads of departments, there are the following families on the pay roll:

Bradbury Family—Thomas M. Bradbury, Secretary of the Public Service Commission, \$300; Frank Bradbury, son of Thomas M. Bradbury, a clerk in the State Warehouse Department, \$125; Howard Bradbury, half brother of Thomas M. Bradbury, \$100. Total for the Bradbury family, \$525.

Hawkins Family—James P. Hawkins, Secretary of the State Mining Bureau, \$150; Mrs. Pearl Hawkins, wife of James P. Hawkins, stenographer, State Insurance Department, \$100;. Total for Hawkins family, \$250.

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## THE STATE PAYROLL.

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Accurate figures regarding State affairs are not available. The correspondent of the Kansas City Star claims the salary list of officeholders at Jefferson City has grown as follows:

1911 and 1912.....	\$ 771,113
1913 and 1914.....	922,449
1915 and 1916.....	1,165,375

In four years there has been an increase of over 51 per cent in the officeholder's salary list. Little wonder the State is busted and raids have to be made on the school funds of the State.

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## SHOULD TELL WHOLE STORY.

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In Col. Gardner's speech at the opening of the State campaign he boasted that "The Democratic administration is gratified to tell the public that this year close to \$2,000,000 has been set aside for public schools."

Had Gardner been fair, he would also have notified the public that had the present administration been able to carry out the plans which they formulated in secret conference, the appropriation for the public schools would have been \$334,189.31 less than it is. The present administration was only prevented from taking this fund from the schools by Court action taken at the instance of an outraged public.

When Col. Gardner tells how much the schools received he should be fair enough and tell how much less they would have received, had the present Democratic administration, which Gardner unqualifiedly endorses, succeeded in their attempt.



## Penitentiary Findings

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### The Facts That Were Revealed by a Legislative Investigation in 1915.

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The minority members of the 1915 House Investigating Committee found among other things concerning the State Penitentiary, as follows:

“We were very much surprised to find that the Penitentiary authorities had never kept an account of the receipts or disbursements of the commissary until January 1, 1915. The expert accountants on page 38 of their report in commenting on this department use the following language:

“Our examination of the records of this department was not satisfactory owing to the lack of data. The condition of affairs existing during the early part of the period under review was chaotic in so far that it was quite impossible for this department to keep track of the prison supplies. ,

“The prison authorities were aware of this condition and were also familiar with the methods of keeping account of supplies, as was shown, later, but did not apply their knowledge until the beginning of the present year, the system now in existence keeping proper account of all supplies which are purchased for the commissary, both with regards quantity and value, and a proper record of the quantity and value of supplies issued by the commissary.’

#### Private Store Attacked.

“The expert accountants on page 42 of their report to the committee make the following comment relative to the private store:

“In the course of our examination we were astonished to find that the employe in charge of the commissary, Mr. Carl McClung, was conducting a private store located in the commissary building. We cannot find any authority in the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Inspectors giving this valuable privilege to the warden’s son. Mr. Carl McClung is not charged for light, rent, heat or labor, the convicts doing the work, so that there must be a considerable profit derived by him in conducting the store. In the evenings we observed a line of convicts waiting to be served at the store.’”

Commenting upon the operation of the private store by Carl McClung, Ing and Harr found serious fault with the system which permitted the warden’s son to enjoy this privilege while receiving, in addition, a salary from the State, of \$100. They had the following to say:

“It is the opinion of the minority members of this committee that if a private store is to be conducted inside of the prison walls that it should be under the control of the State, conducted by the State, and not operated as a private institution, separate and apart from the Penitentiary proper, nor for private gain.

#### “A Vicious System.”

“We believe it to be a vicious system which would permit the warden’s son or anyone else such extraordinary privilege, with all opportunities to appropriate supplies from the commissary.

"Nepotism in official circles is at best subject to some degree of criticism, and we regard this instance as one that cannot be viewed with any degree of favor. Carl McClung, as an employe of the Penitentiary, receives a salary of \$100 a month. It is, therefore, his duty to devote his time to attending to the duties for which he is paid by the State.

"We recommend that this condition be brought to the Board of Prison Inspectors and that the attention of the next Legislature be called to it, to the end that such steps may be taken as will put an end to this unwarranted condition.

"We find that this private store has been conducted for many years and that near relatives of previous wardens have had charge of it."

Harr and Ing recommended a change in the Board of Prison Inspectors as follows:

"It is the sense of your committee that a change be made in the Board of Prison Inspectors. It is the duty of the board to visit the Penitentiary and investigate the conditions prevailing and to do other things in connection with the department, which necessarily requires a great deal of time and attention. Anyone at all familiar with the duties of the officers constituting this board knows that they have not the time to devote to the duties of prison inspection and we believe that better results would be obtained by placing the duties of prison inspection on a board not already burdened with official duties that demand their entire time and attention.

"It is the judgment of the minority members of this committee that the law should be so changed that the Board of Prison Inspectors should consist of five men who are in no way connected with the State Government, two of whom should be selected from the political party casting the next highest number of ballots at the last previous State election, and they should be paid a sufficient salary to justify them in devoting their time to the duties of their position.

"Or if it is thought advisable to save expense and to avoid the creation of new offices, too many of which already exist, we suggest that the Board of Pardons and Paroles, being already engaged in a work that brings them into direct contact with the prison and its inmates, be vested with the powers of the Board of Inspectors. It occurs to us that the only objection that could be urged against the last mentioned body would be the lack of time from their present duties."

#### McClung's Activity Assailed.

Ing and Harr declare in their report that they fail to see how McClung, managing as he does the largest penal institution in the world, finds time to act as chairman of the Democratic State Committee. They direct attention to the fact that although the statutes say that the warden shall devote his full time to the duties of his office, that he found time to do political work and that his salary went on just the same. Upon this point the minority report says:

"The charge has often been made that the Penitentiary is, in its management and control, subject to political influence. This charge we believe is justifiable. The warden is appointed by the Governor and he frequently selects a man for that position who stands high in the ranks of his political party, the present warden being chairman of the State Committee of the political party to which the Governor belongs.

"This condition has occasioned frequent charges of political influence, such as campaign contributions by Penitentiary employes, the warding of prison contracts and furnishing of



prison supplies, and the warden devoting his time to political duties while drawing a salary from the State.

“Section 1633, Revised Statutes, 1909, of the State of Missouri, provides as follows:

“‘The warden and deputy warden shall devote their whole time to the duties of their respective offices.’ In view of the above provision of our State law, we have been made to wonder how the warden of the largest penitentiary in the world could comply with its provisions and at the same time perform the duties of a great political party.

“No one will doubt for a moment that the chairman of any great political party must devote a great deal of his time to the affairs of party politics, in conducting campaigns and shaping the policies of his party. While he is engaged in this way he cannot at the same time devote his whole and entire time to the duties of his office.

“Such a system is conducive to political corruption, and we believe that it would be better to empower the Board of Inspectors, constituted in either of the ways above mentioned, to appoint the warden, or remove him for cause, and make him subject to the control and directions of the board, and in any other way possible remove the Penitentiary from political control.”

#### Servant Plan Attacked.

Ing and Harr declared they could find no law authorizing the Prison Board to give McClung 50 cents a day in supplies for the upkeep of his six convict servants.

“The expert accountants on page 38 of their report say:

“‘Although confronted by the difficulties indicated, we were able to obtain a fairly satisfactory check on the purchase and issue of foodstuffs, our examination disclosing that foodstuffs to the value of \$8051.92 had not been accounted for.’

“On page 39 of the accountants’ report they say:

“‘The deficiency may be accounted for in one or all of the following ways: (1) Inventory of foodstuffs at December 31, 1912, overstated; (2) Inventory of foodstuffs at December 31, 1914, understated; (3) Value of issues understated; (4) Goods misappropriated.’

“As before stated,” continues the minority report, “there was no system of accounting in the commissary department prior to January 1, 1915, and it is therefore impossible to determine just how or when this shortage occurred. The fact that it did occur at all speaks for itself as to the kind of management prevailing.

#### No Inventory Taken.

“We find that the present warden took charge of the Penitentiary in March, 1913, and that he did so without taking any inventory of supplies on hand at that time, and knew absolutely nothing as to the amount or value of the property he was taking into his possession. This has been the case, not only with the present warden, but of all his predecessors, so far as we have been able to determine; the incoming warden never requiring an inventory from his predecessor. This appears to the minority members of your committee to be loose management and we believe it would be well to call the attention of the Board of Prison Inspectors to this matter and we recommend that all future outgoing wardens be required to make a complete inven-

tory of all prison property on hand at the time he retires, and that the same be delivered to his successor and preserved as a record of the prison.

"Then, by keeping correct account of all supplies furnished to the commissary and issued for the commissary, there could not arise such a condition as we now find."

### Meat Contracts Questioned.

The minority report dwells at some length with the report of the accountants upon the awarding of the prison meat contracts during the last biennial period. They declare that, although Armour was shown by the accountants to have been the lowest bidder only on frankfurters, that that concern received the contract. The Prison Board recently awarded the contract to Armour for the current year, but figures given out by the board indicated the bids of that concern were lowest this year.

The minority report on the meat contract follows:

"In the matter of the purchase of supplies for the commissary we find that there is some question as to the method used in procuring them. In the purchase of meats, fuel and electrical supplies bids are received and contracts awarded presumably to the lowest and best bidders.

"In awarding the contracts for the supplying of meats, however, it appears that the contract has not always been awarded to the lowest and best bidder.

### Meat Figures Cited.

"For the period from May 1, 1913, to September 5, 1914, Armour & Co. were awarded the contracts. The accountants on page 29 of their report to your committee comments on this matter as follows:

"In the following cases Armour & Co. were underbid, but the contract was awarded to them nevertheless. For the supply of carcass beef, cows and heifers, 450 pounds and up, equal fore and hind quarters, the Sulzberger and Sons Company quoted .0896 per pound; Armour & Co. quoted .0960, or .0064 per pound in excess of the Sulzberger quotation.

"For the supply of carcass beef, two fores and one hind, during the same period, Armour & Co. quoted .0910, the Cudahy Packing Company .0905, the Sulzberger company .0872.

"For the supply of carcass beef steers, equal fore and hinds, Armour quoted .1070 per pound, Cudahy .1068 per pound and Sulzberger .1016 per pound.

"For the supply of carcass beef steers, two fores and one hind, Armour's bid was .1020 per pound, the Cudahy Packing Company .1005, and Sulzberger .0982 per pound.

"For the supply of pork shoulders Armour & Co. was underbid by the Cudahy Packing Company to the amount of .003 per pound. For the supply of bologna sausage Armour & Co. quoted .0935, Swift & Co. .0925, and the Cudahy Packing Company .0895.

"Pork sausage contract was obtained by Armour at .1018 per pound, Swift & Co. quoting .008 less.

"For the supply of carcass mutton the quotations were: Armour & Co., .1084; Morris & Co., .0945 per pound; Cudahy Packing Company, .0892."



Commenting upon the accountant's report Ing and Harr said:

"There was twelve different kinds of meat supplies, including lard compound, for which bids were received covering this period, and in one instance only was Armour & Co. the lowest bidder, and that was on the item of frankfurters.

"They were underbid on four items by Cudahy, on six items by Sulzberger, and one item by Swift & Co.

"The warden and state auditor stated that to their judgment they had given the contract to the lowest and best bidder, taking the bids as a whole.

"They also gave as a reason for not awarding the contract to Sulzberger & Company that on a former occasion a contract had been awarded to this company and that the quality of meat furnished was not at all satisfactory.

"We heard no such complaint, however, in regard to any of the other companies mentioned, and it occurs to the minority members of this committee that considerable money could have been saved the state by awarding the contracts to the lowest and best bidders. Why this was not done we do not know.

"During the present management of the Penitentiary," the minority report continues, "no bids were called for nor contracts made for furnishing any supplies except meat, fuel and electrical supplies. In the purchase of flour and clothing for the prisoners orders were distributed to more than one firm, but in the purchase of groceries almost a complete monopoly is in the hands of the Goddard Grocery Company at Jefferson City, the amount purchased by the state from this company during the last biennial period amounting to \$92,113.97.

"We understand that during the previous administration monthly bids were made. This no doubt accounts for the fact that much less was purchased from the Goddard Grocery Company during the Andrae administration than during the present administration."

"The minority report recommends a return to the competitive system as follows:

"It occurs to the minority members of this committee that it might be well to re-establish the competitive system and award contracts to cheapest and best bidders for many kinds of commissary supplies, such as flour, coffee, sugar, rice and such other staple groceries as are needed all the time.

"We see no good reason why this has not been done, and fail to see the propriety of allowing one firm a monopoly without competition.

#### Investigation Asked.

"During the administration of Mr. Hall, a previous warden, bids were received for various classes of groceries. We suggest that the Board of Prison Inspectors go into this matter more fully and ascertain, if possible, why the competitive system was discontinued by the present administration and the Goddard Grocery Company permitted a monopoly in the supplying of groceries, and we recommend that the competitive system be re-established and the warden required to recognize the lowest bidder."

After commenting upon the borrowing of money and the payment of interest on such loans and recommending that

the Legislature make appropriations to meet all contingencies, as a better method, the report continued:

"The item of traveling expenses for the biennial period December 31, 1914, amounted to \$1716.20. The warden stated that was chiefly expended in paying the traveling expenses of himself and the Board of Prison Inspectors in visiting other institutions for the purpose of familiarizing themselves with modern cells to aid them in the construction of the new cell building.

"We presume that it was very necessary for them to get information in this way, but it occurs to the minority members of this committee that the amount expended for that purpose was very large, averaging more than \$2.35 per day for the biennial period. We can not believe that the expenditure of this sum was justified."

#### Cell Contracts Criticised.

Concerning contracts for the new cell building the report said:

"In relation to the contracts for furnishing material in the construction of the new cell building, the accountants in their report make some criticism. In some instances contracts were awarded and recorded and in some instances no contract could be found.

"In commenting on this matter the accountants say:

"'Although there is a contract with the Allee-Jordan Lumber Company for the supply of cement, we do not find any contract for lumber for the new cell building.

"'Over \$5000 was paid for this material, being within \$8000 of the amount paid under the cement contract.'

"Again the accountants say: 'The contracts are recorded in the Board of Inspectors' minute books with the exception of the contract for cement entered into with the Allee-Jordan Lumber Company and the contract for vitreous tile with Charles Mace.

"'Further, these contracts are not recorded or signed by members of the Board of Inspectors, although they are parties to the contract, Mr. McClung being the only signature for the state.

"'We call attention to this in the hope that it may prevent the business of the Penitentiary from being so loosely conducted in the future.'"

Continuing Ing and Harr say:

"On page 12 of their report accountants say:

"'We observe that the Rumsey Manufacturing Company are supplying material in connection with the cell building, the sum of \$1826.30 having been paid to them during the month of December, 1914.

"'There is no contract with this company, but in the files we found a bid which they made offering to supply pipe fittings, lead and slate for the sum of \$17,955.'

"Mr. McClung stated," continues the report, "that a contract was entered into with the Rumsey Manufacturing Company, but no such contract was produced. We do not doubt the making of the contract, but it occurs to us that it should be recorded with other contracts. We believe that closer attention should be paid to these details."



## Penitentiary Problems.

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### Failure of the Democratic Administration to Solve Some That Are Important.

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The Missouri Penitentiary, which is the largest institution of its kind in the world, probably shows Democratic incompetency in its administration, both financial and otherwise, as much as does any other part of the State Government. The report of the minority of the legislative investigating committee, included in this volume, deals with the financial affairs of the institution. Unfortunate as is the showing, it does not constitute the most serious charge against the management.

Missouri has particular occasion to be ashamed and humiliated in that the present Democratic control of its chief prison for criminals misconceives and grossly misinterprets the proper purpose and spirit of the State in imprisonment of offenders against the law.

The present regime has utterly failed to work out the important problem of a proper substitute for the present expiring system of prison industrial contracts, so that many of the prisoners are now enduring and many more will soon endure the agonies of idleness, while the State is losing and will lose the earning power of these men as a proper offset against the cost of their maintenance.

In view of the continued failure to meet this problem and solve it efficiently, it should be turned over to a party which has elsewhere met the issue and given it proper solution.

The last contract for convict labor will soon expire and cannot be renewed unless the next Legislature changes the existing laws, which it is not likely to do in the face of a declaration from every political party against the system. To understand the situation as it will be when the next Legislature convenes, it is safe to say there will be close to 3,000 convicts in the Penitentiary. There are 2,872 there now.

About 1,200 of these convicts are earning 75 cents a day per working man for the State. All of this will cease when the contracts expire, as they must do during the first year of the next State administration under the law as it now stands.

The last two Democratic Legislatures knew full well what conditions the abolition of the contract system would bring about unless it provided some means for giving the convicts employment. It did nothing of the kind save to make provision for a small State plant to manufacture clothing and other wearing apparel for the inmates of other State Institutions.

Several years ago a Legislature passed a law permitting convicts to be worked on the public highways, but nothing has been done to encourage this system. In fact, the administration has discouraged it from the start.

With a few hundred convicts employed in the State plants there probably will be 2,500 convicts without any means of earning their keep, and it costs 51 cents a day for each convict's sustenance. The institution is costing the State a

large sum of money now, and there will be a heavy deficiency for its upkeep by the end of the year and the close of this administration, and this will be greatly augmented when the convicts now employed by the contractors are added to the idle inmates.

The modern method of punishment for crime, now accepted in most of the great states of the Union, directs itself chiefly to the cure of crime and to making good men and good citizens. To this end expert criminologists are used—men who have given to the subject years of study, based on experience in the prisons of the world. The treatment of the prisoners in the Missouri State Administration is under the old and incompetent system of punitive vengeance—a system that makes more criminals and continues men in crime by accentuating the resentment against the social order and public authority upon which much crime is based.

The sentiment of Missouri, led by the organized women of the State, is now demanding a complete and far-reaching revision of the methods of penitentiary control, along modern lines, and to this end it is insisting that this institution shall be emancipated from partisan management that is for strictly partisan ends.

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### THE STATE PLATFORMS.

The buncombe of platform rhetoric has perhaps never had a finer illustration than in some of the insincere claims of the Democratic set of formulated political views and principles. It "unreservedly indorses the wise, efficient and capable administration" of one of the cheapest and nastiest outfits of statehouse ringsters that ever handicapped progress in Missouri or any other State. \* \* \*

How a political crime may be changed by platform buncombe into a political virtue is shown by the reference to the porch-climbing invasion of the school fund. This disgraceful plot is euphemistically termed a move to have "the apportionment of school funds forever settled by a decision of the Supreme Court" and is specifically indorsed.

This act of political bankruptcy was committed in secret. The public did not find it out for several weeks. A court test was refused for several more weeks by the ringsters in control of the machinery of the State government and was only resorted to as a means of escape from an uprising of universal indignation. To point with pride to so heavy a record of party liabilities is self-stultification.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

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### WHITEWASH.

"All the Democratic administration needs now to add the climax of damnation to its record is whitewash," says the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, discussing the Democratic administration at Jefferson City. It adds: "A coat of whitewash will not conceal the school fund juggle, the penitentiary mismanagement, the nepotism, the extravagance and other sins of the administration; it will not cover the facts; it will not blind the people who will be well informed of the facts by opposition and independent newspapers.

"The whitewash will do nothing more than conspicuously signalize the effort of the Democrats to deceive the people. It will advertise the offenses."—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



## State Police Outrage.

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### Partisan Use of the City Police Forces Calls for Universal Indignation.

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Under the existing law, which places city police administration in the hands of boards, a majority of which are named by the Governor, without any obligation to respect local sentiment, the present Democratic control at Jefferson City is responsible for the police affairs of these cities. Their power in this regard is arbitrary and almost absolute and it has been used in just this way.

In the last four years every city in the State big enough to come under the law providing for control of the police from the Governor's office, has had one or more police scandals. In all of them the question of service has been secondary to political scandals. In all of them the question of service has been made secondary to political and even factional considerations and an effort has been made to use the police force of these cities to build up a political machine which should bring into line various forces that need the favor and suffer from the antagonism of the police system. The use of the police in this way has extended to the primary, in connection with which their service has been requisitioned in favor of one Democratic faction and against another. In this connection the most flagrant outrages have been perpetrated.

At the recent primaries in Kansas City, the Chief of Police, acting under instructions of the Police Board, which doubtless had a straight tip from Jefferson City, called members of the force into his office and told them whom they must support for a certain office. Later there were a number of dismissals from the force and the newspapers openly charged that these men did not support the favored candidate and lost out solely on that account.

This charge was never responsibly denied.

In St. Joseph, there was repeated scandals of one kind and another as to the improper use of the police for political and factional control as well as otherwise. Recently, in the absence of the Governor from the State, Lieutenant-Governor Painter removed the two members of the St. Joseph board for flagrantly offensive administration and now the new board is investigating the charge that police funds to the amount of \$2,500 are missing and unaccounted for. The most common charge, however, is that police powers are unfairly and tyrannously used to effect certain results.

The same sort of scandals have arisen with regard to the St. Louis Board, which has been changed several times to satisfy public demands.

The crowning outrage of this governor-controlled police system, however, occurred in Kansas City in April, 1916, in connection with the municipal election. The executive power at Jefferson City, as the result of some sort of a political deal with the Shannon faction of the Democracy, agreed that the police of this city should be used to further the election of Jost as Mayor. Accordingly, a special list of "trustworthy"

officers was prepared for election service and their first assignment was to raid rooming-houses and cheap hotels where workingmen, white and colored, were domiciled, at 3 o'clock on the morning of election day, and cause the arrest of 311 legal voters on "suspicion," locking them up and holding them for "investigation." These men, as far as was known then or has subsequently developed, had committed no offense and their apprehension and detention was a hatched up plan to keep them from casting a vote to which it is admitted they had a legal right. They were opposed to the Shannon ticket and that was the sum total of their offense. They were herded in the city prison and every legal attempt to free them during the day was frustrated because these moves had been anticipated and provided against in the original plot, which seems to have had the connivance and approval of the Democratic Mayor of Kansas City and the Democratic Governor of Missouri. Thus 311 citizens were deliberately and criminally deprived of their right to vote by the tyrannical and outrageous use of the police power. Not one of the men arrested has since been prosecuted, though months have intervened and no pretense is made now that there was any just charge against them.

While this high-handed outrage was being perpetrated with the connivance and under the arrangement of Governor Major's police commission, at Kansas City, the Governor himself was hiding at the home of Excise Commissioner Rumsey in St. Louis, so that he could not be reached by the outraged citizenship of Kansas City. When finally seen, he declared confidence in his Kansas City Commissioners and declined to discuss the matter further. Later, when outbursts of indignation were heard from all parties on all hands, he declined to make any changes in the offensive police commission and declared that the matter "would soon blow over." This attitude on his part at best left him open to suspicion of being a party to the conspiracy to rob men of their most sacred political right. This is one of the things which the Gardner Democracy of Missouri so fulsomely endorsed without exception or criticism.

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### AN UNPRECEDENTED DEFICIT.

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Due to the outrageous extravagance and mismanagement of the Democratic administration at Jefferson City, a deficit of approximately \$2,600,000 will meet the incoming state administration in 1917.

In the face of this, Col. Gardner, Democratic candidate for Governor, claims that Missouri is the best managed state financially in the union and the Democratic state platform has brazenly endorsed this record of the Major administration as being "efficient and capable."

If Col. Gardner claims a deficit of these huge proportions shows good financial management, what character of a government could be expected under him?



## Democratic Testimony

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### Upon the Incompetent and Wasteful State Democratic Administration.

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Before the primaries the St. Louis Republic, the recognized organ of the Democratic party of Missouri, said editorially:

"The State of Missouri is going to have a reorganization of its business methods. It is going to see to it that every official who handles state money, accounts for every dollar's worth that passes through their hands. It is going to see to it that the spending end of the government and the taxing end as well, are brought together so that the state shall spend according to its income, 'even as you and I.' It is going to see that nepotism is made just as impossible as polygamy is. It is going to see that the multiplication of useless clerks, legislative or otherwise, and the overlapping of governmental functions is brought to an end."

And the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, an independent Democratic paper, commenting on the above, adds:

"We are sure of one thing—the people will not choose their instruments of reform, the men who have made reforms necessary—they will not elect the officials who are guilty of loose management, nepotism, extravagance, multiplication of useless clerks, financial juggling and who have substituted a deficiency for a surplus, and they are going to see that the public school funds are not looted to cover a deficiency."

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### GARDNER APPROVES ALL.

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Col. Fred D. Gardner, Democratic candidate for Governor, in a speech at the Democratic State Convention, following the adoption of the Democratic platform, declared: "I am going to prove in this campaign that Missouri has been the best managed state financially under Democratic rule in the Union." The platform plank he approved read as follows: "We heartily approve and unreservedly endorse the wise, efficient and capable administration of Governor Elliot W. Major and our other State officials. At no time in the history of the State have the interests of the people been more conscientiously and effectively safeguarded."

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"Col. Gardner at best is a man trying to ride into office on a hobby, and that hobby is a very wobbly land bank bill. The fact that every Democratic candidate in the primary attacked the bill does not speak well of it as a Democratic measure. The very fact farmers must pay more taxes to raise money for the state to loan shows it is a political trick which does not appeal to intelligent farmers themselves. The necessity for increasing greatly the number of State employes at Jefferson City to receive pay out of the State treasury supported by farmers' taxes helps make the scheme odious, when the intention has been to discontinue the extravagant misuse of funds at Jefferson City. The Gardner scheme will conduce further to the present financial embarrassment of Missouri. If these appointees were to be appointed upon merit tests, that would relieve matters some, but the attorneys who are to examine the abstracts and the men who are to value the securities and all others necessary for the operation of the plan are subject to partisan appointment and control. This means enlarged pork barrel—the very things farmers do not want."—Jno. E. Swanger in Sedalia Capital.

# Outrageous Gerrymanders

## Unfair Districting of the State to Secure Partisan Advantage.

The virtual disfranchisement of a large number of voters takes place in every state election held in Missouri. Through the vicious gerrymander practiced in this state, about half of our citizens are denied a proper representation either in the United States Congress or in the Missouri State Senate.

The Congressional apportionment of the United States is based on an average population of 211,887. In 1910, Missouri's population was 3,293,335 and if the sixteen Congressional districts had been given a fair apportionment, each would have averaged about 206,000 population.

But totally disregarding either the spirit or the letter of the law, the Congressional districts in this state are not only outrageously arranged from a territorial standpoint, but they vary in population from 142,621 in the Eighth district, to 416,389 in the Tenth district. The following table, giving the population of each Congressional district according to the 1910 census, and the vote in each district in 1914, shows the unfairness of this apportionment.

Congressional Districts	Population	Vote 1914
First .....	174,971	33,287
Second .....	171,135	22,534
Third .....	159,419	32,479
Fourth .....	179,707	32,305
Fifth .....	283,522	52,409
Sixth .....	150,486	27,331
Seventh .....	218,182	42,241
Eighth .....	142,621	29,769
Ninth .....	190,688	35,958
Tenth .....	416,389	82,835
Eleventh .....	203,667	33,623
Twelfth .....	149,390	22,654
Thirteenth .....	167,188	31,488
Fourteenth .....	296,316	49,612
Fifteenth .....	226,374	41,242
Sixteenth .....	163,280	30,813

Through this dishonest and unfair apportionment, Democracy usually has an almost solid delegation in Congress, although the state is close politically and the Republicans have carried it three times in the last twelve years.

The State Senatorial districts are even more outrageously arranged and it would require a Republican majority of 50,000 to make the Senate Republican. There are 34 Senatorial districts in the state and were they evenly apportioned according to the 1910 census, each district would have about 97,000 population. Yet they vary from 61,000 to 142,000. The following table shows the population of each Senatorial



district according to the 1910 census, and the last vote on State Senator in each district:

Senatorial Districts	Population 1910	Vote	Year
First .....	67,264	10,142	1912
Second .....	93,020	13,676	1914
Third .....	92,380	11,236	1914
Fourth .....	83,306	16,213	1914
Fifth and Seventh .....	283,522	24,140	1912
Sixth .....	67,353	8,437	1914
Seventh and Fifth .....	283,522	38,723	1912
Eighth .....	76,757	16,725	1914
Ninth .....	68,432	8,585	1912
Tenth .....	104,355	11,839	1914
Eleventh .....	61,286	13,115	1912
Twelfth .....	61,659	13,441	1914
Thirteenth .....	87,971	13,528	1912
Fourteenth .....	74,784	15,861	1914
Fifteenth .....	86,984	19,420	1912
Sixteenth .....	85,603	14,840	1914
Seventeenth .....	79,424	10,495	1912
Eighteenth .....	91,127	18,302	1914
Nineteenth .....	124,905	10,398	1912
Twentieth .....	125,018	23,015	1914
Twenty-first .....	126,933	13,998	1912
Twenty-second .....	86,962	14,647	1914
Twenty-third .....	103,783	15,968	1912
Twenty-fourth .....	74,050	7,876	1914
Twenty-fifth .....	125,094	15,624	1912
Twenty-sixth .....	100,394	18,721	1914
Twenty-seventh .....	91,846	17,377	1912
Twenty-eighth .....	89,673	14,099	1914
Twenty-ninth .....	*	30,308	1912
Thirtieth .....	*	15,017	1914
Thirty-first .....	*	12,030	1912
Thirty-second .....	*	23,315	1914
Thirty-third .....	*	18,155	1912
Thirty-fourth .....	*	30,434	1914

\*Total population six St. Louis Districts, 687,029, averaging 114,505.

The above tables show that in Congressional representation, the one district has nearly three times the voting power of the other district, and in the State Senatorial districts, the same degree of unfairness exists. What justice is there in a system which gives to the 142,621 population of the Eighth District one representative in Congress, and only gives to the Tenth District, with its 416,389 population, one representative in Congress?

The apportionment in this state is made solely in the interest of the Democratic party and it deprives the citizens of the State of equal representation in both Congress and the State Senate.

Any system which deprives a voter of the full power of his vote is a crime against the ballot, whether it be done directly by the election crook, or indirectly through legislative enactment. Every good citizen of the state, irrespective of political affiliation, should see that this crime against the ballot and blot on the fair name of the State, brought about by Democratic misrule, is removed.

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The State Treasury is facing a deficit of \$2,500,000.00. Where is Mr. Gardner going to get the million dollars with which to start his bank?

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The Gardner bill will create a multitude of political jobs to be filled by party workers and paid by the State. Has not the State enough such job-holders already?

## Gardner Land Loan Law.

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### Pet Measure of the Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate Dissected.

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Among the admitted issues in the present campaign in Missouri is the so-called Gardner Land Loan Law (of which Col. Fred. D. Gardner, the Democratic candidate for governor, is the reputed author), which a Democratic legislature enacted into law, for the validation of which a constitutional amendment is proposed and which the Democratic State platform specifically approves and the Republican State platform specifically disapproves in its present defective form, though favorable to the rural credit proposition in proper form.

The Gardner Law, which does not go into effect until December 1st under its own terms, creates what is known as the Missouri Land Bank, under the direction of a board of managers composed of the governor, attorney-general, secretary of state, state treasurer and state auditor. This bank is to be attached to the state bank commissioner's office, which shall transact the business with the addition of necessary clerks and an indefinite number of land appraisers at \$2,000 and expenses each. Money shall be loaned only to increase the production of the land, to make useful improvements thereon, to pay off liens or encumbrances, or to make part payment on the purchase price where the borrower is paying part of the money. The loans shall be from \$250.00 to \$10,000, with preference for those asking less than \$5,000, and shall not exceed in amount a fifty per cent valuation of the land. The security shall be a first lien on perfect fee simple titles, free from curtesy, dower and homestead exemptions. Repayment may be in installments covering from five to twenty-five years. The bank shall be authorized to buy in defaulting lands when necessary to protect the loan. The rate of interest on the first \$500,000 loaned shall be 4.3 per cent, with one-half of 1 per cent to the reserve fund, to be returned to the borrower if not exhausted by necessary expense. The later rate of interest is to be based on the proceeds from the sale of debenture bonds, exempt from taxation, based on the farm mortgages made, but shall not exceed 6 per cent. To furnish the original loaning capital, \$1,000,000 was appropriated by the legislature "from monies on hand in the state treasury."

The first objection to this measure is that the Missouri treasury does not provide the capital it demands, \$1,000,000. As the state's strong box has not enough money to meet the regular current demands of the state government and no prospect of more than sufficient for this purpose under the present wasteful regime, the only chance of getting the money is to increase the tax rate for this specific purpose or to issue bonds on the credit of the state. Either alternative would require a popular vote and in both cases the burden would fall mainly upon the farmer and home-owner, with their visible assets, which the assessor never misses and which cannot be hidden.



The measure is condemned further by the fact that its important and sacred functions, comprising the handling of millions of dollars of the people's money designed to be dedicated to the worthy purpose of agricultural promotion and relief, is turned over to politicians, who may be wholly inexperienced and untrained in banking processes and whose first thought generally is of selfish political and factional results. The inevitable outcome would be the scandalous prostitution of the state bank not only to the purpose of influencing general elections but primary contests as well. This would be sure to entail upon the taxpayers, always chiefly the farmers, the burden of tremendous ultimate campaign bills for the re-election of state officials or the nomination and election of their friends.

The opportunity for the multiplication of political jobs is practically unlimited. Clerks could be added at indefinite pay and an army of political workers under the title of "land appraisers," at \$2,000 and liberal expenses, would be sure to open a new and attractive road for politicians to the treasury. The cost of this raid would fall mainly on the farmer whose taxable valuation is all out-doors, where the assessor could not overlook it if he wore blinders.

The promise of the friends of the law, implied in the preliminary interest rate and claimed otherwise, that money would be loaned to farmers at 4.3 per cent, with one-half of 1 per cent for the reserve fund, is deception. The law only provides that 4.3 per cent shall be the prevailing charge on the first \$500,000, loaned out of the money provided from the state treasury. Later the rate is to be fixed from the proceeds derived from the sale of debenture bonds, based on mortgage notes, and exempted from taxation. The presumption that these bonds will stand a low rate of interest and command a premium because of the tax exemption, is not well-based. Bond-buyers usually get an exemption by failing to return their bonds for taxation and they don't care to pay a very big price for legal exemption. Besides, the fact that most of these mortgages run for many years would detract from their attractiveness in the market, if it did not make them unsaleable. Experienced brokers say, that, in all probability, the maximum rate of 6 per cent would have to be charged and that, even then, with the expensive machinery, the state would lose money on the transaction.

In going into the banking business, it has generally been admitted on all hands among intelligent men, that the expenses and losses of the bank should be met by the profits. Under the bill as passed there is not a penny of profit accruing to the State. No issue is taken on that. Now, who pays the expense of running the banks? Who bears the losses, the general taxpayer or the borrower? That is a vital inquiry. The bill takes no adequate note of this deadly feature and offers no adequate safeguard. If it proposed that the borrowers pay the expense and meet the losses out of the one-half of one per cent they pay on the amount they borrow, then that creates a fund each year of \$5,000 on each million loaned. Does any intelligent man suppose that the bookkeeping, the stationery, the books, the postage, the salary of clerks, and especially the salaries and expenses of appraisers in this intricate and vast experimental bank will not exceed that amount by many thousand dollars for each million loaned? Now what process is there for paying the excess, or for meeting the losses? If it is intended the taxpayer should do so, should not the bill frankly say so and make provision for it?

There is no provision in the bill itself limiting the existence of the bank or providing for winding it up, if the experiment should prove disastrous or unsuccessful.

The bill makes the State collect the interest on the mortgage debts, the State then hands over to the debenture holder the interest on his debenture, sold him by the State. Suppose these two amounts, because of bad crops, death, or other accident or disaster, do not equal each other, what then? Is it the intention that the State or the capital of the bank make good the difference and keep up the credit of the debentures for the time being by paying the interest? If so, then the bill should have frankly said so and made provision for it. It certainly does not. If the debenture holder is to take the chance of his collecting agent, the State, not having been able to collect and hence not able to pay the debenture interest, the point should have been made clear by the bill.

The credit of the debenture on the market, certainly depends on a clear understanding on that point, and the bill is silent. If the credit and honor of the State are pledged in that vital respect, then the State should know it. If not, the debenture holder should know it and the bill should make it clear. It does not.

What provision in the bill is there for seeing to it that the money loaned is actually and honestly devoted by the borrower to the express purpose provided by the act? None. What penalty is there for using the borrowed money in any way the wit or needs of the borrower suggests to him or diverting it from the purposes of the law? None. The bill stops short with handing over the money. There is a good deal of doubt as to whether an effective provision could be drawn covering this point.

In view of the fact that the provisions of the new land law gives the land loan business over to the politicians, with practically no restriction of their opportunities for expenditure for jobs, there is every reason to believe that if the expense of operations under its provisions were all charged up to the borrowers from its funds in the rate of interest, the burden then would be higher than they now pay in making loans with private concerns, including the loan commissions. If the expense isn't all charged in the interest rate, then it is paid by the taxpayer and the biggest portion of it falls on the farmer. In other words, the method provided in the Gardner Land Loan Law will defeat the purpose which it professes in its title, which is cheap loans to the farmer, add indefinite burdens upon the general taxpayers and threaten great loss and scandal to the state through the wide-open opportunity for graft that is given.

At best, the loaning of money by the State is a doubtful experiment. No state of this union has ever tried it and nobody can be assured of the result under the most favorable circumstances. Under the worst circumstances, which is a fair description of those that prevail in the case of the Gardner Law, it isn't even an experiment. It hasn't a chance.

It has been said that the Gardner law is a step toward a single tax measure. Its exemption of debenture bonds from taxation and its consequent loading of this additional burden upon the farm show unmistakable tendencies in that direction. The St. Louis Mirror, the organ of the single taxers in Missouri, welcomes and approves it as a step in the right direction, promising that there will be more to follow.



## MYRON T. HERRICK'S OPINION.

Hon. Myron T. Herrick, who, when minister of the United States to France, made careful and extended study of rural credit laws as they are operated in European countries, and who has come to be known as the best American authority on this subject, has these significant words of comment on the Missouri law:

"The law looks more like a stump speech than a statute. Are you sure that the clerk of the legislature did not inadvertently put in some of the debate occurring at its passage? It is so verbose, so poorly framed, so jammed with repetitions, useless phrases and inconsistencies, and so honey-combed with loopholes that it might be fairly likened to a gopher or prairie dog colony in a weedy pasture.

"The Court would perhaps declare its clarification an impossible task. Any attempt to carry it into effect would lead to endless litigation. **It would furnish more fees for lawyers than funds for farmers.** However, what I gather from it is this:

"The proposed Missouri land bank is not a bank nor even a company. It is nothing but a scheme to place \$1,000,000 in the hands of the governor, attorney general, secretary of state, state treasurer, and state auditor, and also to authorize them to issue state bonds whenever they please, in order to raise money to lend to friends, at the risk and expense of taxpayers in town and city and county.

"Since the majority of these officials usually belong to the same party, they will grant loans to Democratic and foreclose on Republican farmers. Or, if the political tables turned, they will grant loans to Republican and Progressive and foreclose on Democratic farmers. At least such is the way the few similar government institutions existing in Europe are operated.

"Indeed, they could not be operated in any other way, because (as anybody knows who knows anything about finance) the State does not have enough money to lend to everybody, while, if the state should issue bonds in the enormous quantities needed for raising money for everybody, the State's credit would become so impaired that bonds would sell off at such a bad discount that the State could not get money anywhere near the current market rate.

"Consequently, the only thing the officials could be expected to do is to try to accommodate a limited number of particular friends. So the sole advantage of a government institution lies in political pull and favoritism. This, however, has always ended in dissatisfaction and not infrequently in disaster, the taxpayers footing the bill. **The farmers suffer, of course, the worst from this because they have more taxable property in proportion to their wealth than any other citizen.'**"

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The more the farmers of Missouri find out about the Gardner law, what it does to them and what it fails to do for them, the less they will think of both the law and its author.

What excuse is there for this dangerous experiment by the State when the Federal Government is right now making the experiment itself and has behind it its vast power and wealth. Why drive the farmer to this bank to get cheap money? If freedom from taxation on a loan cheapens interest (as it does) why not cheapen all money by taking off taxes on all loans and let the farmer get cheap money wherever he can—from his neighbor, for example?—Judge Henry Lamm.

## FIFTEEN VITAL DEFECTS IN GARDNER MEASURE.

A careful distinction should be drawn between an efficient plan of rural credits and the scheme now before the voters of Missouri known as the Gardner plan. Fifteen reasons (any one of which is sufficient to kill the Gardner measure) are condensed as follows:

1. The legislature (Laws 1915, page 199) appropriated one million dollars of State money to start the bank. All men know there is no money in the State Treasury available for that purpose and that the over-appropriations amount to several million. Where will funds be obtained to start the bank?
2. Government land loans are still an experiment. It is not wise for Missouri to engage in the land banking business at least before the national government measure has been tried.
3. The bank is purely a partisan affair. (Laws of 1915, page 1916.) No provision is made for the appointment of clerks, land appraisers and other employees as a result of civil service tests to test their knowledge of banking affairs or land values, but all appointments may be made because of political affiliation. This means a new crop of party employees to feed at the public pork barrel and eat up taxes paid by everybody to the State. Also, it means the land bank's officers are changed every four years as the result of a political campaign. Who ever heard of running a bank in this way?
4. There is no provision made for apportioning money evenly among the counties. This means that the political favorite of those in charge will get what money they want and others can go "hang."
5. The board of governors consists of the Governor, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Secretary of State, and Auditor—all of them busy in other state affairs, all of them are politicians and none of them expert bankers.
6. The scheme smells of single tax. If the State loans vast sums of money which the act in effect makes exempt from taxes, it means the additional tax burden must be borne by some other form of property and the land is the main thing that is left to tax.
7. The scheme does not give money to the man who needs it most. A farmer's land must be worth at least five hundred dollars before he can get a loan. (Laws 1915, page 197). A borrower whose land is worth that amount and has "the perfect fee simple title, free from curtesy, dower and homestead exemptions" can get a loan now as cheap as the Gardner acts provides. Furthermore, the act makes no provisions for the town home owner who is trying to pay off the debt on his home.
8. The prosecuting attorney and attorney general are compelled to pass upon all land titles. (Laws 1915, page 198). This additional task means the appointment of many assistant prosecuting attorneys and attorney generals to examine abstracts of title—all to be paid by the State out of taxes paid by all.
9. It is proposed to pay expenses, salaries, losses, etc., out of a one-half of one per cent reserve fund which the borrower pays in addition to the regular interest charged. All men know that this expense and these losses cannot be met on one-half of one per cent. This means either additional taxes to run the bank or raise interest rates on loans.



10. The law reads more like a stump speech than a practical statute. The endless litigation resulting would furnish more fees for lawyers than funds for farmers.

11. If we adopt the land bank bill this fall we are doing more than placing a law on our statutes. Under the present scheme, we are making a land bank scheme a part of the Missouri Constitution.

12. Every man knows that losses occur in the banking business. Who is to take care of the losses—unless the taxpayer again? If the bill expects the taxpayer to meet the losses, why doesn't it say so frankly and provide a means. If this means the State shall pay them, that means the taxpayer.

13. What mortal is fool enough to believe the State can issue forty million dollars' worth of debenture bonds (an amount proposed) based on the one million dollars capital provided, and still maintain the financial honor and credit of the State?

14. There is no provision made for the State or any one else to pay the debenture bondholder in case the State (as a collecting agent) fails to collect the interest on the loans.

15. This scheme is conducive to social unrest, because the taxes which support the measure are levied on all alike, and because interest is not cheapened to all needy citizens.

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## An Inspiring Job

Having given fulsome endorsement of the Major administration, we presume the Democratic candidates for State offices will enthusiastically defend it.

They will defend and praise nepotism.

They will defend and praise the brutal and incompetent mismanagement of the penitentiary.

They will defend and praise the muddling of the State finances and the attempt to rob the school of funds to meet the deficiency.

They will praise and defend discrimination in taxation.

They will paint Gov. Major as a model of courage and ability.

They will praise and defend Gov. Major's juggling with the excise to further his political ambitions.

They will hail devotion to the tango as the cap sheaf of qualifications for the office of Governor.

They will assure the people that the Gardner administration, if the Democrats carry the State, will be a fac-simile of the Major administration.

They will appeal to the enthusiastic admiration of the people of Missouri for Major and his works as a reason for the election of Col. Gardner, who was, of course, nominated on account of his enthusiastic support of the Major administration.

In living up to their platform declaration the Democratic candidates will have an inspiring and cheerful job—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

## Cowgill's Testimony

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The Democratic State Chairman's View of State Auditor  
John P. Gordon.

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The following letter, with the name of James Cowgill, now chairman of the Democratic State Committee, first among the Democratic signers, was sent broadcast throughout the State immediately following the date indicated:

July 22nd, 1916.

Dear Sir:

We wish to call your attention to some of the many reasons why Mr. John P. Gordon should not be nominated by the Democrats of this State for Auditor at the August primaries. We do this in the interest of the Democratic party.

Missouri is a Democratic State, and will remain so if we get away from the notion that we can elect any one we nominate. The State is now close, and the party should nominate no man for any office who is weaker than his party. The importance of Missouri in the national election is very great, and it would be an inexcusable blunder for the party to load down the ticket with weak candidates and thereby endanger the national ticket.

We do not like to say anything against Mr. Gordon, but it is clear to any thinking man that he is not a fit candidate for the party to nominate for Auditor at this time. Mr. Gordon has been in office two terms. A third term is always unpopular, and there is no reason why Mr. Gordon should receive this unusual honor. On the contrary, there are strong reasons why he should not receive it. He is justly charged with gross nepotism, and in his defense of this he cites Republican precedent. This will not do. No candidate should have to fall back on so weak a justification for a wrong official course on his part. He has so conducted himself in office as to have incurred the hostility of tens of thousands of the friends of the State University. No weaker candidate could be found in the State. His nomination would weaken, and we fear endanger, the whole ticket. We protest against such folly on the part of the members of our party.

John T. Wayland is especially qualified for the position of State Auditor, and if nominated and elected will conduct the office without reproach, and without placing members of his family upon the payroll of the State; and he is worthy of the confidence of his party and the people of this State.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) JAMES COWGILL,

W. T. KEMPER,

R. J. INGRAHAM.

Mr. Kemper is President of the Commerce Trust Co., Kansas City, and Mr. Ingraham is a prominent lawyer in the same city. Both are prominent Democrats.



## Agriculture the Basis

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Some Wholesome Sentiment From a Fourth of July Speech by  
Walter S. Dickey.

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"History reveals that the great nations of the past have all been established upon the basis of agriculture. The population at first consisted of strong, simple-living, nature-loving people who tilled the soil. As their numbers increased and they became more affluent, the drift of population was to the towns and cities. Production upon the farms decreased and consumption in the cities increased, while the cost of living mounted. Wealth brought love of ease and less willingness to labor and toil, until finally, with physical and moral flabbiness, the population was weakened and unable to resist the attacks of younger nations on their borders who were not weakened by a life of ease. In time the cities were beleaguered by the strong, hardy agricultural peoples from without, resulting in the fall of that nation. Some writers and thinkers claim to see in our national life today the germs of this disease. I hope and pray not, but this is something for you to think about.

"The remedy consists of building counter attractions in the life of the country, and that rests with both parents and children. We should plan to encourage better living conditions upon the farm. Among the means to this end of which I have already told you in part is good roads and the solution of the problem of quick, easy transportation all over this broad land of ours. Good roads are the key to the whole back-to-the-farm movement. Other factors are the rural telephone, rural electric plants for both lighting and power and some provision for an improvement of the sanitary conditions in the smaller farm homes. What housewife would not be encouraged and delighted to have the conveniences of artificial light and hot water supply in the home, all of which can nowadays be procured at astonishingly small costs. The enlarged use of school property as a social center for the development of the social side of the country life, its use as an auditorium for public gatherings, debating and study clubs and a thousand other things, which suggest themselves.

"As soon as country life is made attractive through these agencies and as soon as the conveniences and advantages compare favorably with those to be obtained in the cities, then and only then will this seemingly disastrous drift from country to city, stop. Farm labors should be lightened and profits increased through the use of labor-saving machinery. Particularly is this true of the women's work on the farm. The solution of this problem would give father and mother more time for family life, allow some recreation in the way of visiting and travel, unify the home life of the family and encourage a greater solidarity of family relations.

"We should also take up with greater vigor the questions of improved crop conditions, rotation, production, fertilization and the increase of farm earnings by these methods. Give the children something of interest to do, stimulate and encourage ambition and a desire for better conditions. Let them earn something for themselves. I would consider it a national asset if we could devise ways and means to give

to the young people, both boys and girls upon the farm, the things they crave and must have in the very exuberance of their youth."

### The Good Roads Problem.

"As a part of this program, we must increase our transportation facilities. We must secure in this country, forthwith—right now—in some way and by some means, hard-surfaced wagon roads all over this land of ours. Why, it ought to be possible for a woman with a baby buggy, or a man with a push cart, or a farmer with a two-horse load, or a man with a ten-ton truck, to get about over any part of this country, night or day, rain or shine, north, south, east and west, without any regard to the condition of the weather.

"There is a plan under consideration whereby these roads may be obtained now and I will briefly outline it to you. It is the result of the studies of a commission appointed under the government and which spent two years in the investigation of this, one of the greatest problems of our time.

"The bill is known as the Bourne Bill, and you can get a copy by writing your congressman. It contemplates using the credit of the Federal Government to secure a large amount of money, \$500,000,000, at the low rate of 3 per cent, by an issue of bonds. This money is to be divided among the states in an equitable manner, based upon (1) their miles of roadway; (2) their area in square miles; (3) their population and (4) their assessed valuation. So that Rhode Island, with its intense population and small area would receive, in proportion, the same amount as a state like Texas, with a large area and a small population per square mile. The Federal Government would then take from the states their four per cent bonds in an equal amount, thus effecting a saving of 1 per cent in the interest rate by the use of credit of the Federal Government. That one per cent saving, if left with the Government and compounded semi-annually, would, in forty-six years, furnish a fund sufficient to retire or pay off the original issue of bonds, so that, by paying the interest on these bonds for forty-six years, the principal would be paid by the saving effected in the use of the Federal Government's credit. Now this is one plan and it's something to think about and study about and I hope you'll take it home with you, for the good roads problem is one of the big problems this government is facing and must solve and solve now.

### River Improvement.

"Next in the general scheme comes the development of our great inland waterways—the rivers. You know, under the constitution, the Federal Government is given supervision and jurisdiction over all navigable streams. If a stream is navigable, you cannot bridge it, or divert the current, or take water out of it, or pollute it in any way, without first obtaining a permit from the Federal Government, and I hold that authority of supervision carries with it an implied responsibility that the Government shall maintain these streams in a navigable condition. Whenever the Government says, 'Here is the bank and there is the bank of this stream,' then it is possible for the land owners on either side to create a levee district and reclaim that land which is now going to waste, and that of itself would afford an immense amount of tonnage immediately available for river transportation. In addition, think of the large deposits of raw materials, silica sand, clays, kaolins, bauxite and other materials, which are now not utilized that could afford employment to thousands and thousands of men were they developed. Many of them are



so located as to make shipment of the finished goods made from them unprofitable except at rates lower than the railroads can afford to make.

“Then with the improvement of these rivers, must come their canalization and this hooking up with the great lakes and with each other, where possible, thus affording a very network of inland waterways and an all-water route to the seaboard.”

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### SOME POLITICAL HISTORY.

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The address of Col. Gardner, Democratic nominee for Governor, at the opening of the State Democratic campaign is full of inaccuracies, the most glaring and unfair one being as follows:

“In 1873 when the Democratic party assumed control of the State’s affairs, a bonded debt of \$40,000,000 was left as a heritage of Republican misgovernment.” \* \* \*

There is nothing to justify this statement. While Democratic candidates and Democratic platforms have misrepresented the political history of the State, none have gone to the extreme that Col. Gardner has gone in this statement.

The Democratic State platform in 1900 charged that when the Democratic party came into control in 1873, it found a bonded debt of \$21,768,000, for which the Republicans were blamed. While it is true that this amount of bonded debt existed at that time, the Democratic platform was not fair enough to state that this and a much larger debt was a legacy from a previous Democratic administration. The Republican party came into power in Missouri in 1865 and at that time found a bonded debt, created under Democratic rule, of over \$36,000,000. In the eight years that the Republicans were in control, this debt was reduced over \$14,000,000, and when they went out of power in 1873, there remained \$21,768,000 of the debt which existed when they came into power. The above are historical facts. To charge, either directly or by implication, that this debt was a result of Republican administration, indicates either an ignorance regarding Missouri’s history, or an attempt to misrepresent historical facts.

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The merchant, the butcher, the grocer, the baker, mechanics, laborers and trades-people of all kinds will be taxed by the Gardner bill, and yet they are prohibited under the provisions of that bill from borrowing any money from the Gardner land bank.

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The Gardner bill places the management of the land bank in the hands of the same State officials who have managed the penitentiary during the past three years, and who tried to take \$334,189.31 from the State school funds. Do the people of this State want to place the loaning of \$40,000,000.00 in such hands?

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The Gardner bill places in the hands of any ring which may be entrenched in Jefferson City, a powerful political club over the head of the borrowing farmer, which might be used with telling effect in campaign times. Can the people of Missouri conceive a more effective way of perpetuating such a ring?

## Republicans Admit This

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The Party Agrees With Col. Gardner on One Proposition at Least.

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"I believe present conditions can be better preserved under a Democratic than under a Republican administration."

The above statement was frankly made by Col. Fred D. Gardner in his speech, opening the Democratic campaign in this State. We heartily agree with Mr. Gardner in his statement. No Republican administration would continue the shameful condition of affairs that exists in Missouri today.

Never have the finances of the State been in worse condition. The State is virtually bankrupt. Construction of buildings at State institutions has been stopped, due to a lack of funds. Virtually every State institution has either been compelled to borrow money to pay its current needs, or else is months behind in meeting its obligations. The State penitentiary has had to borrow at least \$150,000; the State University a short time ago borrowed \$83,000 and was making arrangements for an additional \$50,000; the School for Feeble-minded at Marshall has over \$70,000 due it from the State, and the Confederate soldiers, who were expecting State aid during their declining years, have over \$150,000 due them, which the State cannot pay.

The condition of the State's finances is such that the five leading State officials met in secret conference in May, 1915, and agreed to take from the schools over half a million dollars, a proceeding which was stopped only through court action.

Extravagance has run riot at Jefferson City, the last Legislature having over-appropriated revenues \$4,973,275. Nepotism has been practiced to such an extreme that even the present Democratic State chairman joined in a circular letter sent over the State asking the defeat of Democratic candidates on that account. It is conservatively estimated that when the present year closes the State will face a deficit of about \$2,600,000. Never have conditions been in worse shape than now, yet the Democratic State platform adopted at Jefferson City, endorsed this record as being "efficient and capable" and the Democratic candidate for Governor claimed that Missouri was "the best managed State financially in the Union."

We heartily agree with Col. Gardner that the present shameful conditions in Missouri can best be continued under a Democratic administration. If the voters desire this and feel that they can stand another administration of the Major stripe, it can be had by electing Gardner and keeping Democracy in power.



## Practices Single Tax

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### The Democratic Candidate for Governor Does His Taxpaying That Way.

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The advocates of the Gardner Land Bank bill deny that this bill is a single tax measure. Whether this is true or not, it cannot be denied that Col. Gardner has been practicing Single Tax in this State for a number of years.

Single Tax, in plain terms, means the levying of taxes only on land, while personal property escapes taxation. In 1913, Col. Gardner, while signing bonds in the Federal Court, made an affidavit that he was the owner of a million dollars worth of personal property, free and clear of incumbrance. In the same year he returned to the assessor of St. Louis a personal property list of only \$2,600, and in the years since then, his personal tax assessment has not exceeded \$3,470.

Gardner may attempt to deny that his Land Bank bill is a Single Tax measure, but it can hardly be denied that he is practicing this system of taxation. No single tax practitioner is wanted for Governor of Missouri.

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“We rejoice in the creation and expansion of these United States of America, in the glorious success attained by our Republican form of government and in this great, rich, new country on the North American continent becoming the modern cradle of liberty; that in the latter part of the eighteenth century our shores were sought, as they are now, by the oppressed of all lands and all tongues, as the permanent home and abiding place of all who craved political, religious and personal liberty.

“Here have come the pioneer, optimistic, able-bodied people of every clime, seeking a home in the new world, and with the opportunities presented in this great, rich, new land. The foreigner is soon acclimated, naturalized, intermarried and helpfully assimilated with our people, till all signs of his former nationality have been effaced, and through the democracy of our public schools, the children soon take on the spirit of the new land. I am a believer in the theory that our population has been much strengthened, both physically and mentally, by the crossing of the strains and by the constant oncoming of emigrants from the old world.”—Walter S. Dickey, in Fourth of July Speech at Sedalia.

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“We must, if our greatness is to continue and we are to keep in the front rank of the nations of the earth, turn our attention to the average man, the unit of America’s greatness. We must encourage the maintenance of the American home and the American fireside, and think and act in a big way for the big crowds of workers carrying on the industries that must serve to multiply our greatness in the eyes of all the rest of the world.”—Walter S. Dickey, in Fourth of July Speech at Sedalia.

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**AN UNANSWERED  
CHALLENGE**

**"I hereby challenge  
the Democratic State  
Officials to take the  
Taxpayers of this State  
into their confidence  
and tell them the exact  
condition of the State's  
Finances and exactly  
how much the State is  
in debt to the Univer-  
sity and the other  
State Institutions."**

**—Judge Henry Lamm.**